BUSH'S HOMELAND SHAKE-UP: WILL WE BE SAFER?

Newsweek®

June 17, 2002

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Sarah Whistler

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Sarah Whistler gave up her "horrid little" PC for a friendly and reliable Mac.
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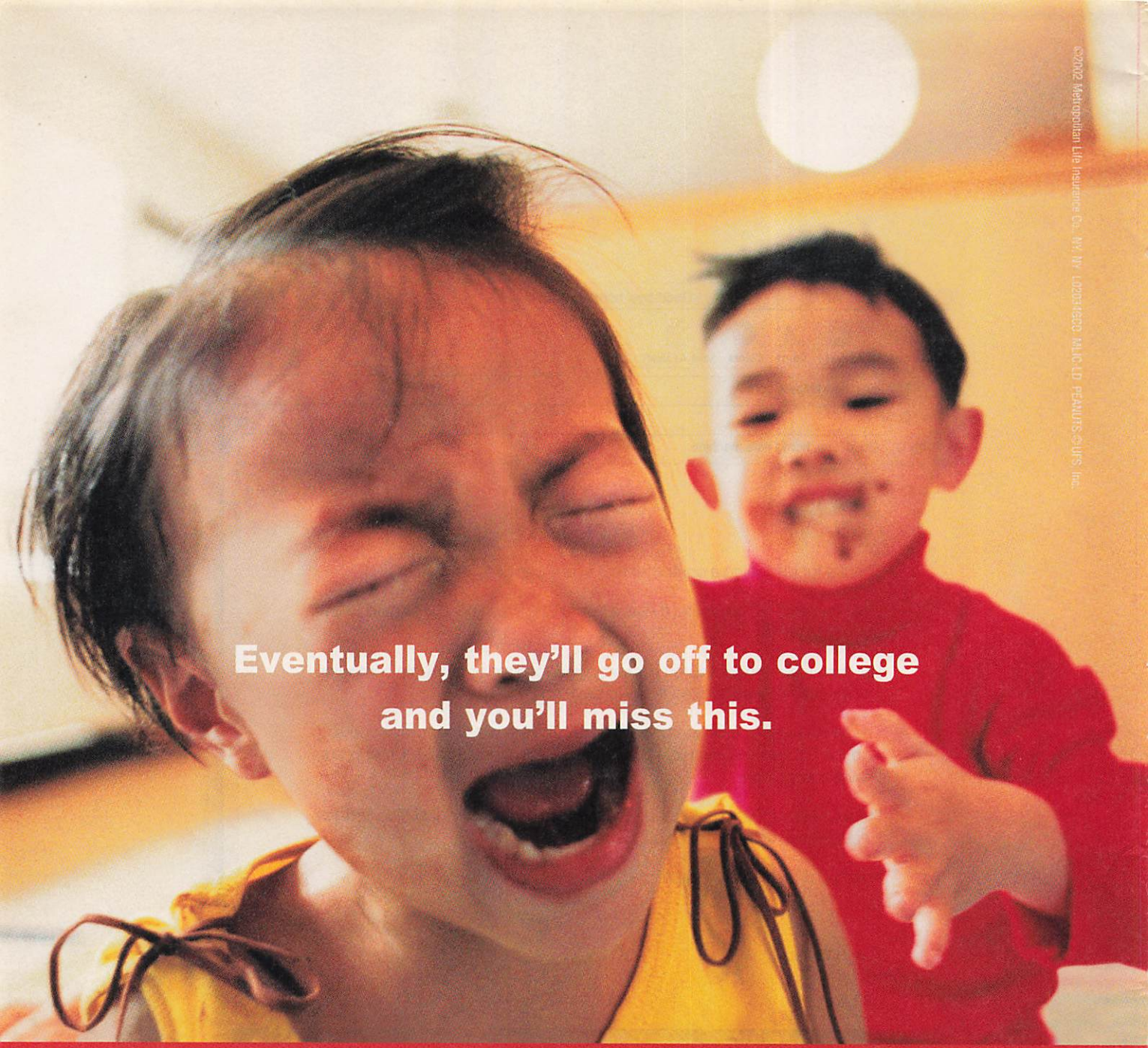

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Top of the Week

Newsweek

Cover Story

It's not like any other shopping experience in the world—and that's why nearly 50 million people are hooked. From the rush of competitive adrenaline to the joy of finding that perfect lunchbox (or, these days, that perfect car), eBay is the Internet's most successful company. Log on and check it out.

PHOTOGRAPH BY ROBERT YAGER FOR NEWSWEEK

GOING, GOING ...: From Mr. Potato Head to ... well, to just about anything else, hit eBay

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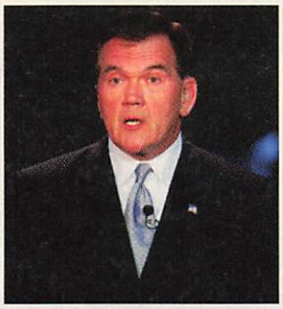

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MAURY PHILLIPS—WIREIMAGE

A STAR'S TRYING TIMES: Winona Ryder's strange trip

COVER: Photograph by F. Scott Schafer for NEWSWEEK. Hair and makeup by Kim Wayans. Styling by Jill Topol. Prop styling by Ariana Salvato. Elvis and grandmother's costumes courtesy of Creative Costume NYC. Sneakers courtesy of Dooney & Burke and Puma. T shirt courtesy of Juicy Couture. Vespa courtesy of Bella Classica.

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Top of the Week

Is TV Bad For Kids?

NEWSWEEK: What's better for kids: no TV at all, or a little bit of "Sesame Street"?
JAMES P. STEYER, author of "The Other Parent: The Inside Story of the Media's Effect on Our Children": Personally, my kids get a limited dose of good-quality, chosen programs. I respect people who throw the TV out the door, but given the realities of parenting today, making sure kids' media is limited and well-chosen is a more realistic choice.

How can parents find the most beneficial—or least harmful—shows?
By watching and listening with

your kids, then making your own judgments.

Are many parents doing this?
It's easy to use media as an electronic babysitter, especially when you're overwhelmed by all the other challenging aspects of your life and parenting. At one point or another, we're all guilty of it. Unfortunately, you do so at your peril.

Some people point to the success of shows like "Gilmore Girls" and ABC's recent programming moves as the beginning of a trend toward more family-friendly television. What do you think?
I hope it is, but I'm skeptical.

For Daniel McGinn's full interview, go to Newsweekonline.MSNBC.com.

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News, analysis and commentary updated daily by the magazine's global network of correspondents

THE EDITOR'S DESK

THE DESIGNER OF THIS WEEK'S cover, **Bruce Ramsay,** is an eBay addict. He goes to the Web site to bid on everything from old plastic Christmas ornaments (don't ask) to memorabilia from the 1967 Expo World's Fair in Montreal. (He's Canadian.) **Simon Barnett,** who oversaw the cover shoot, found a new mattress from Alabama that was cheaper than at the local mall in New Jersey. **Jerry Adler,** who wrote the story, won a set of Roman coins. And **Lisa Miller,** who edited the package, bought an original edition of E. B. White's "Stuart Little" for her nephew, but worries that she got so caught up in the excitement of the auction she overpaid.

We spend a lot of time at NEWSWEEK in story meetings. But sometimes the best stories come from the conversations before the meetings. After months of chatting about what everyone had bought and sold on eBay, it dawned on us that we should do a cover. And as we compared notes, it became clear why eBay has proved by far the biggest dot-com success story. Not only does it combine the convenience and savings of online shopping. It offers the thrill of victory and the agony of defeat. It allows us to indulge secret hobbies and obsessions. And it adds the buzz of "feedback" from fellow shoppers—a kind of instant affirmation from the world's fastest-growing encounter group.

To find out how a Web site that began auctioning Pez dispensers posted transactions last year of more than $9 billion and has attracted more than 46 million registered users, we dispatched our reporters to chronicle 24 hours in the life of eBay. You'll meet CEO Meg Whitman, her team at headquarters and dozens of buyers and sellers as their paths cross on May 29. And **Steven Levy** shares tips on how to play the eBay game.

You'll meet some other fascinating people in the rest of the issue. **Howard Fineman** reveals the role that Andy Card, the president's chief of staff, played in crafting Bush's new Homeland Security plan, even as he was making indiscreet confessions to Esquire magazine. **Keith Naughton** profiles Elena Ford, the latest member of the car dynasty to get on its management fast track. **Devin Gordon** contemplates the conundrum of Winona Ryder, truly a star interrupted. And **David Noonan** bends elbows with the duffers from Bethpage Black, the public golf course where the U.S. Open takes place this week. As Noonan reports, they love their beer—and have some hard-earned local knowledge that Tiger might want to hear.

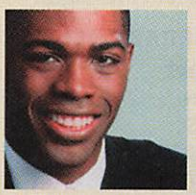
–MARK WHITAKER

HIGHLIGHTS

On Sunday, June 16, NEWSWEEK and **Discovery Health Channel** present **Next Frontiers in Health & Technology,** at 8 p.m., ET and PT, on the Discovery Health Channel. This week cast your **Live Vote** on our home page: is **George W. Bush's** new cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security a good idea? Plus, check out audio links on our **Newsmakers Q&A** with Whoopi Goldberg.

COLUMNISTS & LIVE TALKS

The Week Ahead on the Web



Check out our new column by **Dr. Ian Smith.** He'll take on issues of health and medicine on Wednesdays.

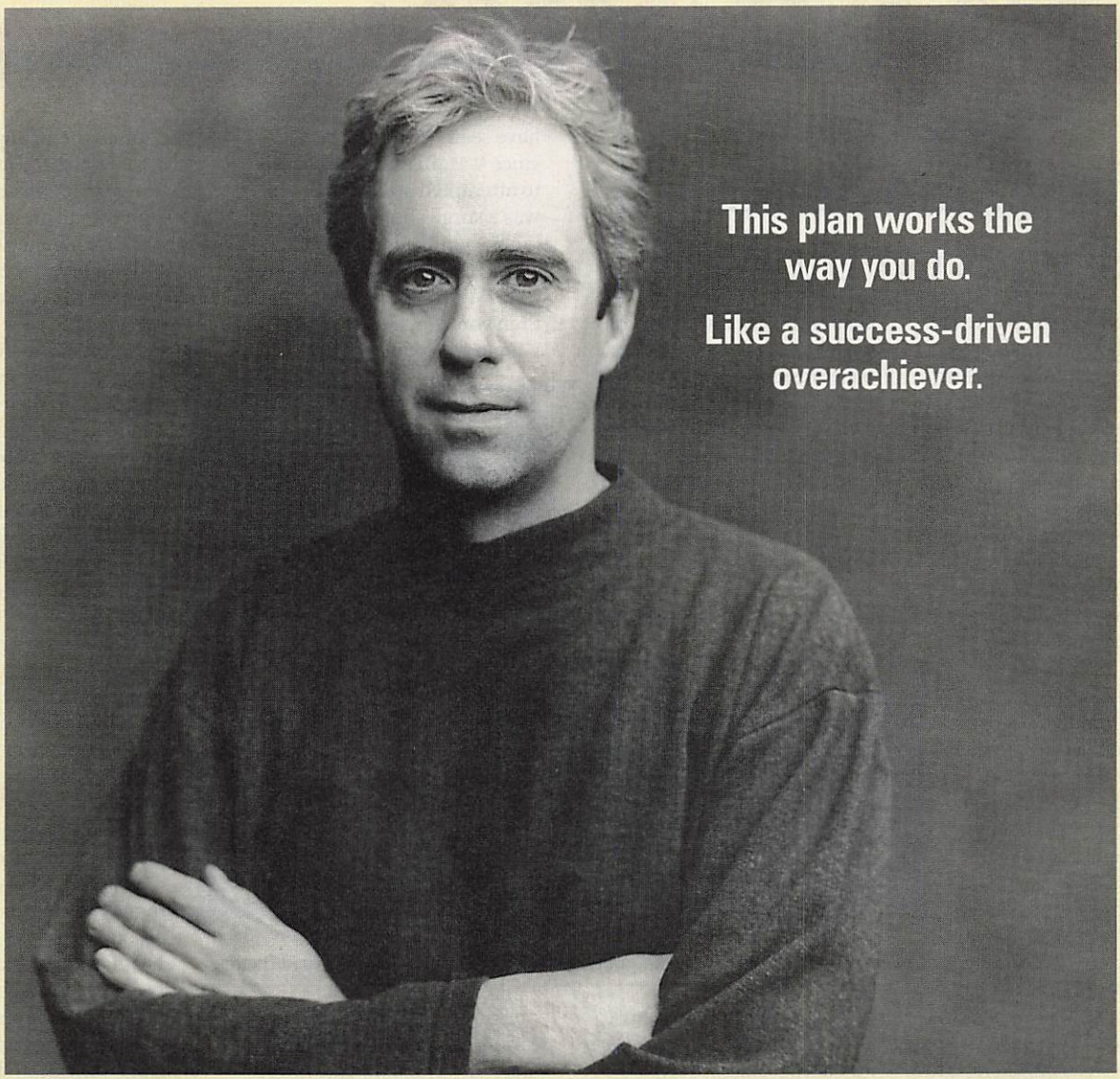
Log on to the Web every week for **Jonathan Alter's** Between the Lines Online, a column on politics and society.

Join Managing Editor **Jon Meacham** for a Live Talk on Catholic Church reforms, Wednesday, June 12, at noon, ET.

David Noonan hosts a Live Talk on the U.S. Open on Friday, June 14, at noon, ET. Submit questions any time.

For an inside look at Congress, read **Eleanor Clift's** Capitol Letter, published online every Friday.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES OMMANNEY FOR NEWSWEEK, NO CREDIT (3), SIGRID ESTRADA, COURTESY NBC, TIM BOYLE—GETTY IMAGES



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From Our Reporters: A Heads-Up Look at Scoops, Trends, Ideas, People to Watch

EXCLUSIVE

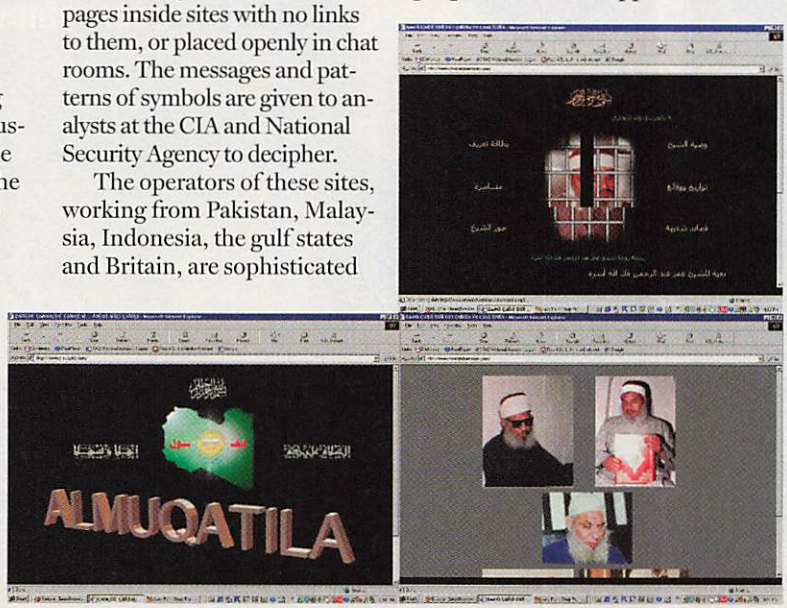
Hiding (and Seeking) Messages on the Web

ONE DAY LAST OCTOber, an intelligence-community analyst noticed something strange about a radical Islamist Web site she had been monitoring for several months. A previously open, innocuous part of the site was suddenly blocked. She checked her notes, found the old address for the link and typed it in—to find an otherwise empty page commanding in Arabic, MISSIONARIES ATTACK!

Other "hidden" pages on the site included seemingly nonsensical phrases and quotations from the Qur'an—coded instructions for Qaeda operatives and their supporters. U.S. intelligence discovered Al Qaeda uses the Web as a communications network. Analysts believe Al Qaeda uses prearranged phrases and symbols to direct its agents. An icon of an AK-47 can appear next to a photo of Osama bin Laden facing one direction one day, and another direction the next. Colors of icons can change as well. Messages can be hidden on pages inside sites with no links to them, or placed openly in chat rooms. The messages and patterns of symbols are given to analysts at the CIA and National Security Agency to decipher.

The operators of these sites, working from Pakistan, Malaysia, Indonesia, the gulf states and Britain, are sophisticated in their computer tradecraft. "These guys are no fools," says an intelligence source.

Much of the intelligence from the sites comes from "traffic analysis." Analysts say they have seen "surges" in traffic since 9-11, in many cases prior to attempted attacks. "There was a surge about the time [shoe-bomber] Richard Reid got on the plane," says one analyst. "We would get surges, and then you would hear about people who were stopped."



LOOKING FOR ORDERS: Investigators check out Web sites for links to Al Qaeda

For more direct communication, Al Qaeda uses commercially available encryption software or hides messages inside graphics files by a process known as steganography. "They are giving strategic direction to their supporters by using the Web [and] using [cryptographic software] to transmit e-mail messages," says a British intelligence source.

While encrypted communications keep the content of messages secret, they attract the attention of intelligence services, which track the messages to their source and recipient; meanwhile, much of the Web communications are hidden in the mass of unrelated "chatter" on radical Web sites. "The genius of this method is that they are hiding in plain sight," says the analyst. "It's three jigsaw puzzles mixed up in one box, when you're only interested in one of them."

Some of the most valuable intelligence gleaned from the sites has been the connection between Islamic charities and Qaeda fund-raising operations. Analysts found the same bank-account numbers listed in Islamic humanitarian appeals on sites raising funds for jihad against the enemies of Islam. Several U.S.-based Islamic "charities" have been shut down thanks to the analysts' discovery of this fund-raising scam.

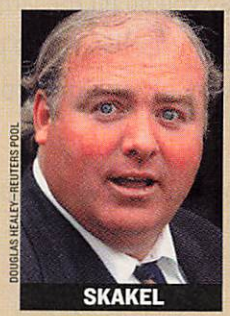
–COLIN SOLOWAY, ROD NORDLAND and BARBIE NADEAU

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

HOMELAND INSECURITY EDITION

Bush's plan is bold (if belated)—the biggest government reorganization since the '40s. But why does he have that deer-in-the-headlights look again?

	CW	
Bush	↔	Old: 9-11 doesn't require gov't reorg. New: OK, it does. But don't expect us to admit we were wrong.
Rowley	↑	FBI's marathon mom is model public servant. Too bad she works for the Federal Bureau of Incompetence.
Card	↓	Chief of staff tells Esquire WH will be in disarray post-Karen Hughes, then blames reporter. What a weasel.



DOUGLAS HEALEY–REUTERS POOL

SKAKEL

	CW	
Skakel	↓	CW says Kennedy cousin probably guilty of murder, but whatever happened to reasonable doubt?
Gl. Warming	↑	Bush finally admits humans cause, but doesn't want us to do anything about it. Pass the sunscreen.
CEOs	↓	Old: Superhero role models who drive the economy. New: Greedy chiselers who hurt the economy.

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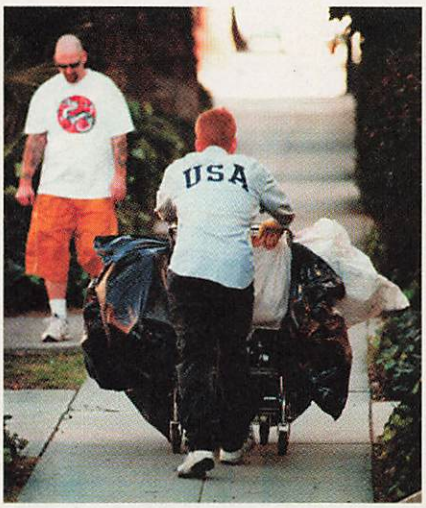
CENSUS

For Richer, For Poorer

IT ACTUALLY IS THE BEST of times and the worst of times, at least in southern California. According to census figures released last week, the region is home not only to the wealthiest town in the country, but the nation's largest concentration of poor and undereducated people. In Los Angeles, Riverside and Orange counties, more than 12 percent of families, many of them recent immigrants from Mexico and Central America, live below the poverty line, and nearly 14 percent of residents have less than a ninth-grade education.



GOING TO EXTREMES: In Hollywood

On the other end of the class echelon, Rancho Santa Fe—a posh suburb north of San Diego—has the highest per capita income in the United States: $113,000-plus a year. Desired largely because of its bucolic charms and privacy, "The Ranch," as locals call it, has no streetlights and no home mail delivery; its golf course, tennis club and 26 miles of hiking and equestrian trails are strictly for the use of the town's residents, about 5,000 in all. Pat Merino, executive director of the Rancho Santa Fe Community Center, talks as though the place were Mayberry RFD. "People here aren't dripping in diamonds, they're just regular folks," she says. She's not particularly happy that the Census Bureau has designated Rancho Santa Fe home of the nation's cash cows. "Sometimes this kind of attention can bring in trouble," she says.

So what does this juxtaposition of affluence and indigence mean? Dowell Myers, an urban planner and demographer at the University of Southern California, says, "We're seeing the beginnings of extreme class polarization in the region. The middle rungs of the socioeconomic ladder, especially in places like San Diego, where housing prices are so high, are hollowing out. The really wealthy and the really poor don't go anywhere, but the white working classes are beginning to leave."

-JAMIE RENO

AIR SAFETY

Jumbo-Jet Mystery

INVESTIGATORS ARE ANXious about the May 25 crash of a U.S.-made, Taiwanese-operated jumbo jet flying from Taipei to Hong Kong. According to Taiwanese authorities, the 23-year-old Boeing 747, operated by China Airlines, crashed about 20 minutes after takeoff. The plane was flying at 30,000 feet, a cruising altitude at which accidents rarely occur. Air-traffic controllers received no distress call or indication of trouble from the pilots; the plane apparently blew apart into four pieces and then fell into the sea. There were no survivors.

CONCERNS ABOUT THE CENTER FUEL TANK: China Airlines plane

As in the 1996 crash of TWA Flight 800, investigators have three theories: an onboard bomb explosion, a missile strike or mechanical failure. No evidence of terrorism has yet turned up. One suspicion is that the center fuel tank of the China Airlines plane suddenly exploded, which is what investigators concluded happened to TWA 800. If the crash is ultimately attributed to mechanical problems, it could force regulators worldwide to take a hard look at the safety of older planes. But until the plane's black-box recorders and wreckage are recovered, investigators have little hard evidence. "We're hoping to get some metal to look at," said a Boeing spokeswoman.

-MARK HOSENBALL

HEALTH Skip the Chips

You *don't* want fries with that. Nutritionists have been urging consumers to skip the chips and fries for years because of the high fat content. Now there may be an additional incentive—reducing your cancer risk. Last week Norway joined Sweden and Britain in finding surprisingly high levels of the suspected carcinogen acrylamide in starchy foods cooked at very hot temperatures. While studies conducted by all three countries found evidence of acrylamide in a variety of fried and baked goods (even though none was found in the raw ingredients), potato chips had by far the most, followed by french fries. Bread had the least. The World Health Organization has called an emergency meeting for the end of June to review the evidence and discuss its implications.

CANCER RISK? Problem potato

But in the United States, where 1.6 billion bags of chips are sold every year, the Food and Drug Administration has yet to conduct similar studies, saying it is still reviewing the methodology used by the Europeans. While many scientists agree that more data are needed, some cancer experts say researchers should have focused on this issue long ago—especially after other studies indicated that charring steaks and roasting coffee beans generated naturally occurring carcinogens in those foods. "Research says that diet is responsible for 30 percent of all cancers—but we still don't know what it is in our diet that causes it," says Dr. Lois Swirsky Gold of UC Berkeley. "It makes sense to look at these things."

-PAT WINGERT

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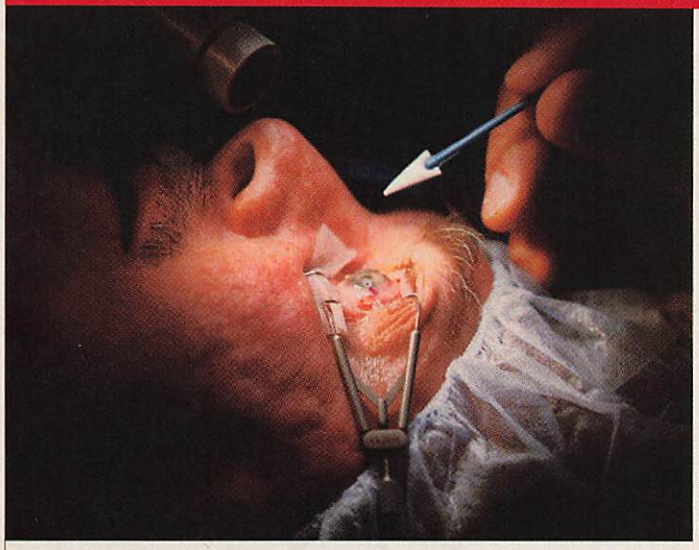

STEPHEN JAFFE—AFP

NOT DANGEROUS—OR A CURE-ALL: Laser surgery works for many

MEDICINE

LASIK: A New Look

CALL IT A DIFFERENT kind of vision correction. A March survey on LASIK—the ubiquitous eye surgery that zaps the cornea with a laser—found that despite its popularity, most people were blurry on exactly what the procedure was, viewing it as either seriously risky or a cure-all for everyone. (It's neither.) In response, the new Eye Surgery Education Council has put out guidelines and tips to clear things up for patients considering LASIK. The most basic: look for a diploma on the clinic wall. Nearly a third of the people surveyed thought no medical degree was needed to perform the surgery (yes, it's *surgery*). Also, don't expect it to solve severe vision problems or eliminate the need for reading glasses. Above all, ask lots of questions—and worry if the doctor doesn't. Key eye tests are necessary for determining if a patient's corneas are too thin or pupils are too large to benefit from the procedure. Now that you're scared, here's the final guideline: don't be. Complications are rare. If all these seem like points your ophthalmologist should be making already, that's true. These are simple tips, not an excuse for do-it-yourself doctoring. "We wanted to avoid being ultratechnical and encouraging that," says Dr. Roger Steinert, who co-wrote the guidelines. "We don't want self-diagnosis." Just self-education.

-MARY CARMICHAEL

MOVIES

Husbandry

LIKE ALL COMEDIES, "Late Marriage" ends with a wedding. Yet, like just about everything else in this startling Israeli sleeper, the finale is anything but conventional. The first film of writer-director Dover Kosashvili, "Late Marriage" concerns a 31-year-old graduate student, Zaza (Lior Ashkenazi), who refuses to take a wife, to the horror of his parents. This takes place within the traditional community of Georgian Jews in Tel Aviv, where a man must marry a virgin. She must be younger than he is and come from a good family. Zaza rejects one promising prospect after another.

The reason is that he is having a happily torrid affair with Judith (Ronit Elkabetz), a 34-year-old Moroccan divorcée with a 6-year-old daughter. When his relatives discover the affair, they spring into action with breathtaking brutality. There's an unblinking honesty to this comedy that makes its tone unique. (Unblinking in style, too: the scenes play out with few cuts.) The frank, protracted love scene between Zaza and Judith unfolds with a realistic sensuality Hollywood has spent its entire history avoiding. Even more shocking is the emotional violence that Zaza's mother (played by the director's mother) reveals as she tries to control her son's future. This is a fierce and bitter comedy. It leaves an aftertaste that's like champagne mixed with ashes.

-DAVID ANSEN

BETTER LATE OR NEVER: 'Marriage'

APPLE Come Over From the Dark Side

Upon returning to Apple Computer as CEO in 1997, Steve Jobs quickly forged a détente with the company's former blood rival, Microsoft, a desperately critical step in ensuring that the Redmondites would keep writing software for the Macintosh. But now Jobs is crossing the implicit marketing DMZ, focusing his strategy on raiding the vast Windows camp (market share: more than 90 percent) for potential converts to Mac (5 percent).

GIVE IT UP: An aggressive new campaign

Starting this week, Apple will launch a huge ad campaign—the biggest since its "Think Different" media blitz of several years back—featuring conspicuously "real" people recounting how they escaped from the Evil Empire and lived to tell about it. The spots were directed by documentary filmmaker Errol Morris using his patented Interrotron setup, which makes even normal people seem a bit weird and weird people look extraterrestrial.

In explaining his new initiative, Jobs scoffs at the notion that Microsoft's well-reviewed Windows XP operating system has closed much of the friendliness gap between the two systems. "You think people are *happy* with XP?" he asks incredulously. Does Jobs expect buddy Bill Gates to get ticked—or retaliate—when Apple floods the airwaves with quirky authentics describing Windows computers as "klunky," "unwieldy" and "a horrid little machine"? Not really. "It's not our words, it's the words of real people," he says. Overall, he can't imagine why his poaching raid would cause any ripples in Redmond. "What's a few market-share points between friends?"

-STEVEN LEVY

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Periscope

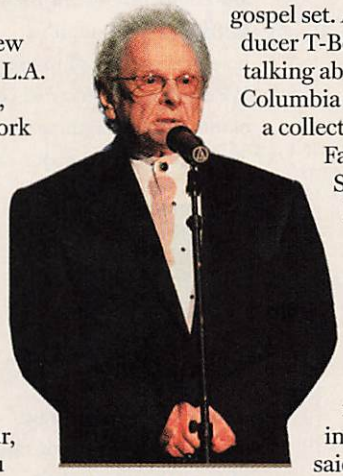
MUSIC

Mountain's Majesty

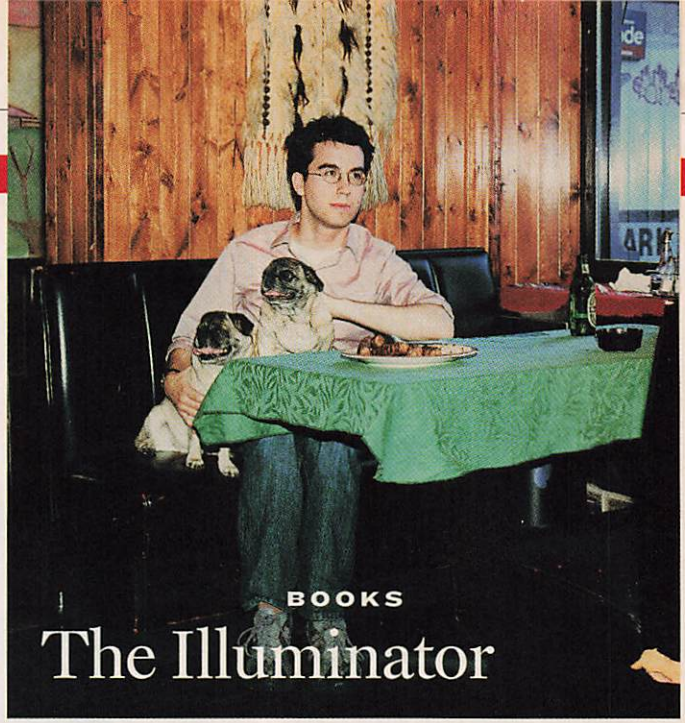
ABODY COULD GET gray hair just following the 75-year-old Ralph Stanley around. This isn't merely a figure of speech: I've got gray hair and I've been following the 75-year-old Ralph Stanley around. On Memorial Day weekend the mountain-music patriarch sang as well as I've ever heard him at his annual festival in Virginia. The following weekend I caught up with him at an RV park in Connecticut. This week, to promote his new CD, he flies to L.A. to do Jay Leno, then to New York for a concert and CBS's "Early Show." Then it's on to Louisville to rehearse for this summer's "Down From the Mountain" tour, with Emmylou Harris and other usual roots-music suspects.

Most of this is happening because of Stanley's 3-minute 21-second a cappella performance of the traditional "O Death" on the platinum-selling "O Brother, Where Art Thou?" soundtrack. It got him a surprise Grammy this year for best country vocal, a six-year, six-record deal with Columbia and the promise of a role in the upcoming film version of Charles Frazier's novel "Cold Mountain." He's also got gigs well into next year with his own handpicked band, the Clinch Mountain Boys, who are really the best interpreters of his music. He's still got one album to do under his contract with Rebel Records—probably a gospel set. And he and producer T-Bone Burnett are talking about their second Columbia CD—probably a collection of Carter Family songs. But Stanley's got some long-range plans as well. "I want to do a show on my 100th birthday," he told me and my 90-year-old father backstage in Connecticut. We said we'd be there.

-DAVID GATES



O BROTHER: Stanley



BOOKS

The Illuminator

REVIEWS OF "EVERYthing Is Illuminated," by Jonathan Safran Foer, are unanimously breathless—almost every critic connects the title with the 25-year-old author's brilliance. Liev Schreiber has bought the best seller's film rights, and Ethan Hawke will perform a reading of the book this summer in Central Park. Susannah Meadows talked with the wonder boy about his (truly) wondrous book.

MEADOWS: Your book is difficult to describe, so could you do it?

SAFRAN FOER: Daniel Mendelsohn [in New York Magazine] said it's a book that pretends to be about a young man's trip to Eastern Europe, but it's really about everything else. I liked that. Any useful description sounds like a book I wouldn't want to read.

Is it easier to write a book when you're young because you don't know enough to be intimidated?

So much of writing my book was writing out of ignorance, willful ignorance. I have so little interest in writing a book people would say is writerly. All that makes me want to barf. Books are kind of like cars. They can get you from one place to another. Some people become interested in the car and want Porsches. I'm more interested in a Volvo station wagon to transport important items to another place. I told [my story] this way because it was the only way I could think to tell it. I didn't mean to be experimental at all.

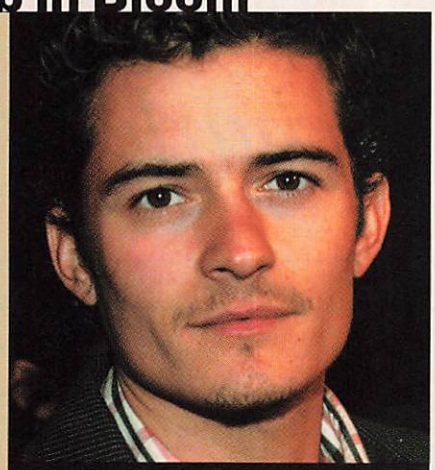
Is the character named Jonathan Safran Foer you?

I tried to use other names. Even at the end I did one of those search-and-replaces, [but] it didn't feel genuine. This is how I am honest, by beginning with the life of my circumstances. You learn all these things you never could have known. My God, I was interested in Jewish things? I had no idea! Here's a piece of evidence of what I actually was. It's like looking at a picture of yourself and realizing you were pudgier than you thought.

OHMIGOD! A Heartthrob in Bloom

It's not easy being a girl. And not just because of the acne and the algebra. There's also the task of monitoring the ever-shifting landscape of teen popularity. (Boy bands? *So* last Wednesday.) The current object of their collective affection? Orlando Bloom. Most people past puberty haven't heard of him, but Bloom just made Teen People's list of "25 Hottest Stars Under 25," and next month he'll be named one of YM's "20 Hottest Guys." (Hint: he's the one running from fans in those ubiquitous Gap ads.) The Brit had only a minor role in "The Lord of the Rings," as the pale elf with the waist-length blond hair. But somehow girls saw through the Bon Jovi phenomenon, spotting the hottie hiding beneath that coif. Since then Bloom—who seems intent on dodging the teen-idol mantle—has starred in "Black Hawk Down," and he's currently filming a Western. "Orlando's a very serious actor," says his publicist. That's right, he's not just eye candy. He's *classically trained* eye candy.

-KATHERINA STROUP



FACE: That launched a thousand fan sites

FROM TOP: KATHERINA BOSSE, PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID N. BERKWITZ FOR NEWSWEEK, FREDERICK M. BROWN—GETTY IMAGES

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Living in the Shadow Of a Lost Father

In 1970 I struggled with the shame that came with a parent's death. How times have changed.

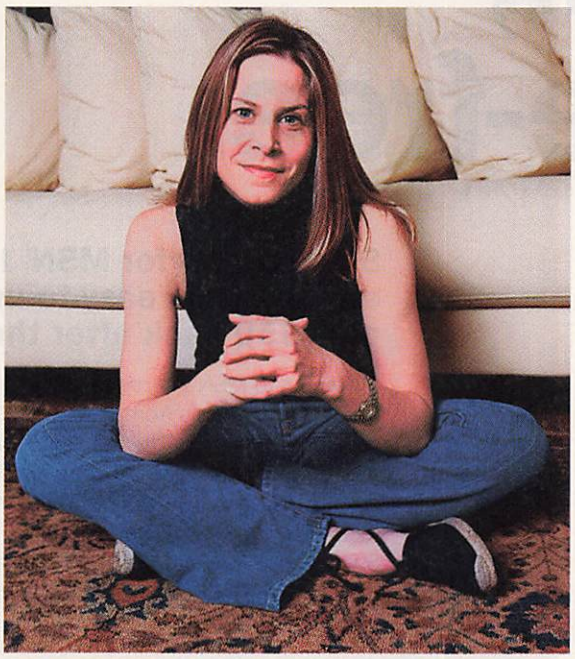
BY ADRIANA GARDELLA

"YOU DON'T HAVE A FATHER, you don't have a father!" Andrew O'Toole (all names have been changed) chanted from his front yard. My friend Catherine and I squatted at the end of her driveway, poking twigs into a puddle of hot, bubbling tar. Searching for a comeback, I found none. Andrew was right—my father had died a few days earlier. I was 6 years old, and my overwhelming emotion was embarrassment.

I looked up to see Catherine on her feet, one blue knee sock gathered at her ankle. "Yes, she does; her father's in heaven," she said with the conviction of the Our Lady of Sorrows first grader she was soon to become. At the time, all three of us believed her, so there was nothing more to say. Andrew retreated to his yard, chasing his cat with a half-deflated kickball. But I couldn't escape my new identity so easily. I was the kindergartner with the dead father.

Today our attitude toward grief is more enlightened. The Andrews of the world are contributing generously to the Kids for Kids Relief Fund, established for children who lost parents at the World Trade Center. And with something close to envy, I read about how kids whose parents died on September 11 gather at bereavement camps and learn that they are not alone. They make memory boxes filled with mementos of their parents, and counselors guide them through "holidays and grief worksheets." Fortunately, they're likely to be better prepared for Father's Day than I was.

As that holiday approached in 1970, Mrs. McIntyre stood before our class with piles of construction paper and fabric. "We're going to make collages of our daddies," she said. "Some of you may not have a daddy, so maybe you'd like to make a collage of a special uncle or a grandpa?" June was so close to July, I wondered why Father's Day couldn't be observed a month later when school was out.



PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID N. BERKWITZ FOR NEWSWEEK

GRIEF BEFORE OPRAH: In my world, cancer itself seemed embarrassing. My grandmother could only call it 'c.'

In an age when support groups champion everyone from lesbian parents to children of alcoholics, it is hard to imagine how alone I perceived myself to be. But back then, even divorce was discussed in whispered tones. And though there were plenty of kids with divorced parents, I was aware of only one other with a dead father—Mitch Samuels. Mitch had learning disabilities, a lisp and no friends. Any association with him could only hurt my cause. I secretly longed for the day when another bright, popular child would lose a father. John and Caroline Kennedy, who had been the same ages as my sister and I when their father died, fit the bill. But they didn't go to my school.

The Dead Dads Club was exclusive, and my lifetime membership guaranteed harassment for most of my elementary-school years. "Your father's dead," Jon Singer said over cookies and milk in first grade. "No, he's not," I said. But lying was useless. My father had been one of the youngest judges in Westchester County, and everyone knew about his death from Hodgkin's disease at 36. The news had made the front page of the local paper, and the flag outside my school had flown at half-mast for what seemed like months.

At ceremonies honoring him, adults would squeeze me and say, "You must be so proud he was your daddy." Yet pride was inconceivable. In my pre-Oprah world, cancer itself seemed embarrassing. My grandmother could only bring herself to call it "c." So, with every scholarship fund or public dedication that bore my father's name, my irritation grew. Having a dead father was one thing, but having others continually call attention to the situation was another.

With their army of advocates and plenty of company, the children who lost parents on September 11 can't possibly feel like freaks. But in the end they will deal with the same sense of loss that eventually replaced my embarrassment.

As an adult, I outgrew my belief in God and realized there would be no father-daughter reunion in heaven. My father's absence is enduring. Standing in line at J. Crew, I still feel deprived as I study the father and daughter ahead of me, debating the merits of a cardigan.

Professionally, I struggled to find the right career, sure that my father's guidance would have sped the process. Before turning to writing, I spent eight years as a lawyer fantasizing about how life would be with a prominent father blazing my trail.

Yet ultimately I found my way, without a guide. I've survived one of life's worst blows, and self-reliance is my reward. Now I feel sadness for the 36-year-old man who never had the chance to see how it all turned out. But as I hovered over the tar in 1970, I grieved not for my father, but for my status as a normal girl.

GARDELLA lives in New York.

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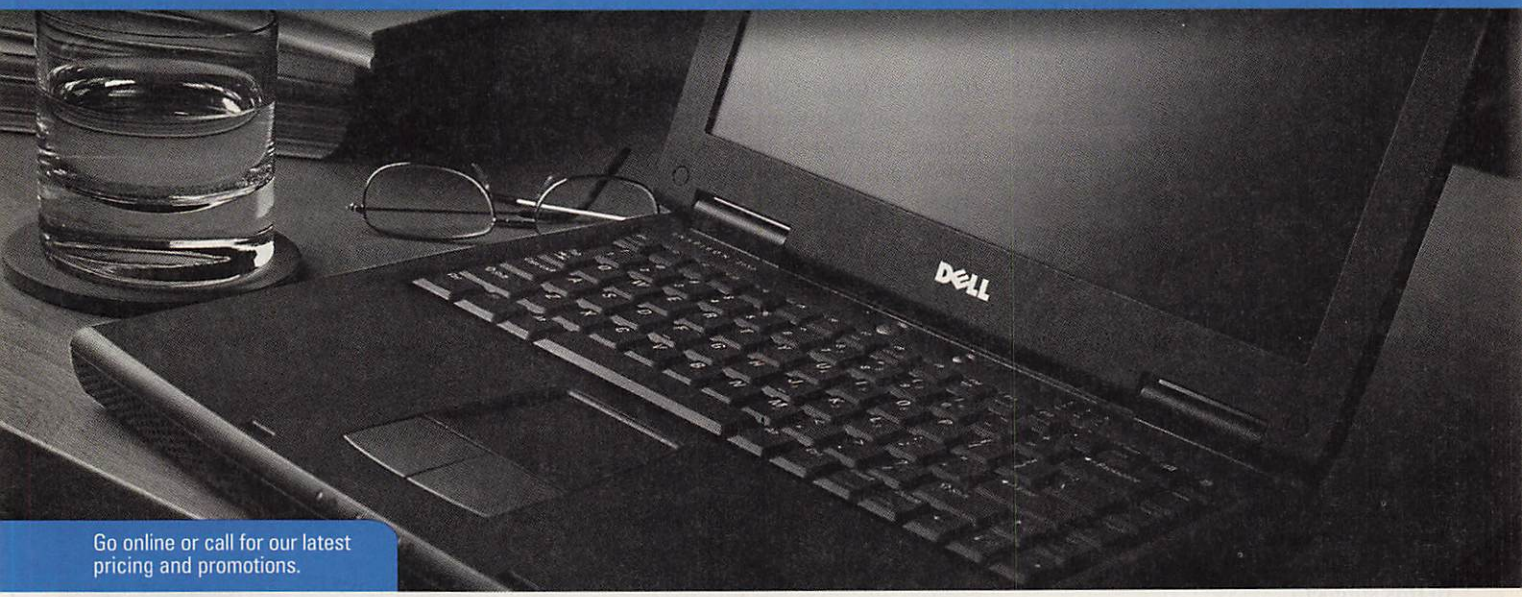

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Letters

Raising Well-Balanced Girls

YOUR JUNE 3 COVER STORY, "IN DEFENSE of Teen Girls," refreshed my faith in America's youth. It was simple and real. There are countless Jennifer Teschlers out there among us and in our homes. That's why Teschler's photo stands out on supermarket racks. It's reality to most of us and probably news to the usual characters who dominate the magazine covers next to her.

TIM CHELLING
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I'M A HIGH-SCHOOL JUNIOR AND WOULD like to thank you for your article on "gamma girls." It is important for adults to recognize that teenage girls who are not considered "popular" are not necessarily losers. There is a middle ground of girls who are pursuing their goals without sacrificing their ideals or social lives. It is hard to maintain perspective as a teenager. I praise you for bringing attention to this subject.

JENNIFER JASON
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.

WITH MANY NATIONAL MEDIA OUTLETS jumping on the "mean girls" bandwagon, it is refreshing to see girls make headlines for their diverse leadership abilities. As one of the first organizations to recognize girls for their potential and not their problems, the Ms. Foundation for Women works with girl-led programs in projects as diverse as securing subsidized bus passes for students to launching a national program for violence prevention in schools. Encouraging girls' leadership allows them to use their power as a positive tool to shape and control their lives and their communities. Thanks, NEWSWEEK, for showing a fuller picture of girls' lives.

MARIE C. WILSON, PRESIDENT
Ms. Foundation for Women
NEW YORK, N.Y.

AS A TEENAGE MALE, I FEEL THAT THIS Brave New World approach to labeling females undermines any attempt for teenagers to escape from cliques. Your reporter snipes at books such as "Queen Bees & Wannabes" for playing on teenage stereotypes, but by portraying the gamma girl as a freckle-faced, Caucasian, churchgoing "good girl" the article merely plays into another stereotype. It is easy for parents to want their daughter to be a gamma girl, but parents must understand that regardless of what label their child is given, they are still just teenagers growing up. Perhaps parents should stop reading books on how to be parents and start being parents.

MICHAEL KOSAK
SCOTTSDALE, ARIZ.

DESPITE SUSANNAH MEADOWS'S OBSERvation that minorities now represent a significant portion of the student body, she didn't speak with any nonwhite girls. The article implies that girls can't "succeed" unless they have two parents, time enough to play after-school sports and go horseback riding. And while advice books on raising girls are attacked for playing to stereotypes, NEWSWEEK gives us three roles for girls to aspire to—represented by skinny, white movie stars. Who's stereotyping now?

MAXINE H. OLAND
Department of Anthropology
Northwestern University
EVANSTON, ILL.

I AM AN INDEPENDENT-MINDED GIRL of 17 who doesn't do sports and whose tastes run toward the artsy and obscure. According to your article, which purports to break through stereotypes and celebrate individuality, girls like me do not exist. There are as many categories of teenage girls as there are teenage girls; to reduce this number to a magic three is to grossly oversimplify.

SALLY O'BRIEN
ORANGE, CONN.

AS THE MOTHER OF A 16-YEAR-OLD daughter, I read your article "Meet the Gamma Girls" with delight. It used to sadden me that my daughter was not part of the popular crowd, stayed home many weekends and didn't try to conform to fit in. As a teen, I was obsessed with being liked and pleasing others. Not bad qualities, but it took me years to find my own originality. I celebrate my daughter's wonderful independent spirit and find great inspiration in my "gamma girl."

JULIE DRESNER MAIBAUM
PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIF.

'A Hole in Our Hearts'

ANNA QUINDLEN'S ESSAY "LOOK AT What They've Done" (THE LAST WORD, June 3) reaches deep into the hearts of all Americans, especially New Yorkers. I agree that the emptiness we feel should be our memorial to those who died and to the suffering of those left behind. That hole in our hearts should remain as a reminder, always and forever, of the horror of that terrible day. The USS Arizona still sits beneath the waters at Pearl Harbor, visible to all, so that we never forget. So, too, should our memorial to September 11. An open space in the middle of this great city acknowledging that it is a sacred place would remind us of our loss and of the greatness of our people and a country that values life, honors its dead and lives in freedom.

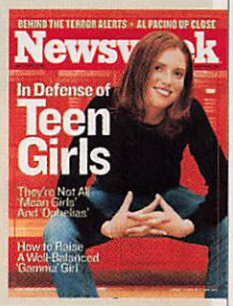
PATRICIA WILBER
WALLKILL, N.Y

ANNA QUINDLEN'S PIECE ON THE WORLD Trade Center seems to be written by someone who lives and works far from lower Manhattan. Those of us who actually live or work in the neighborhood, while certainly not opposed to a memorial, want to

MAIL CALL

Girls Are '32 Flavors and Then Some'

Readers, mostly teenage girls, responded to our June 3 cover in large numbers. "Cheers to NEWSWEEK for doing an article that focuses on the positive light in teen culture, because I know it would be really easy to do the negative," one letter writer said. Another cheered, "You have seen through the high-school haze and found the girls that are so often overlooked. This article has given the rest of us a voice!" Another said, chortling: "Your diagrams of alpha, beta and gamma girls fit my younger sister and me perfectly, down to the heartthrobs, snacks and shoes." But there was plenty of teen angst. "I was terribly offended by the suggestion that I am a 'type'—easily identifiable by the jeans I wear or the music I listen to," one critic fretted. Another chastised us: "If your writer borrowed 'her' gamma girl's favorite CD ('Not a Pretty Girl,' by Ani DiFranco), she might come to understand the reality that girls truly are '32 flavors and then some'."



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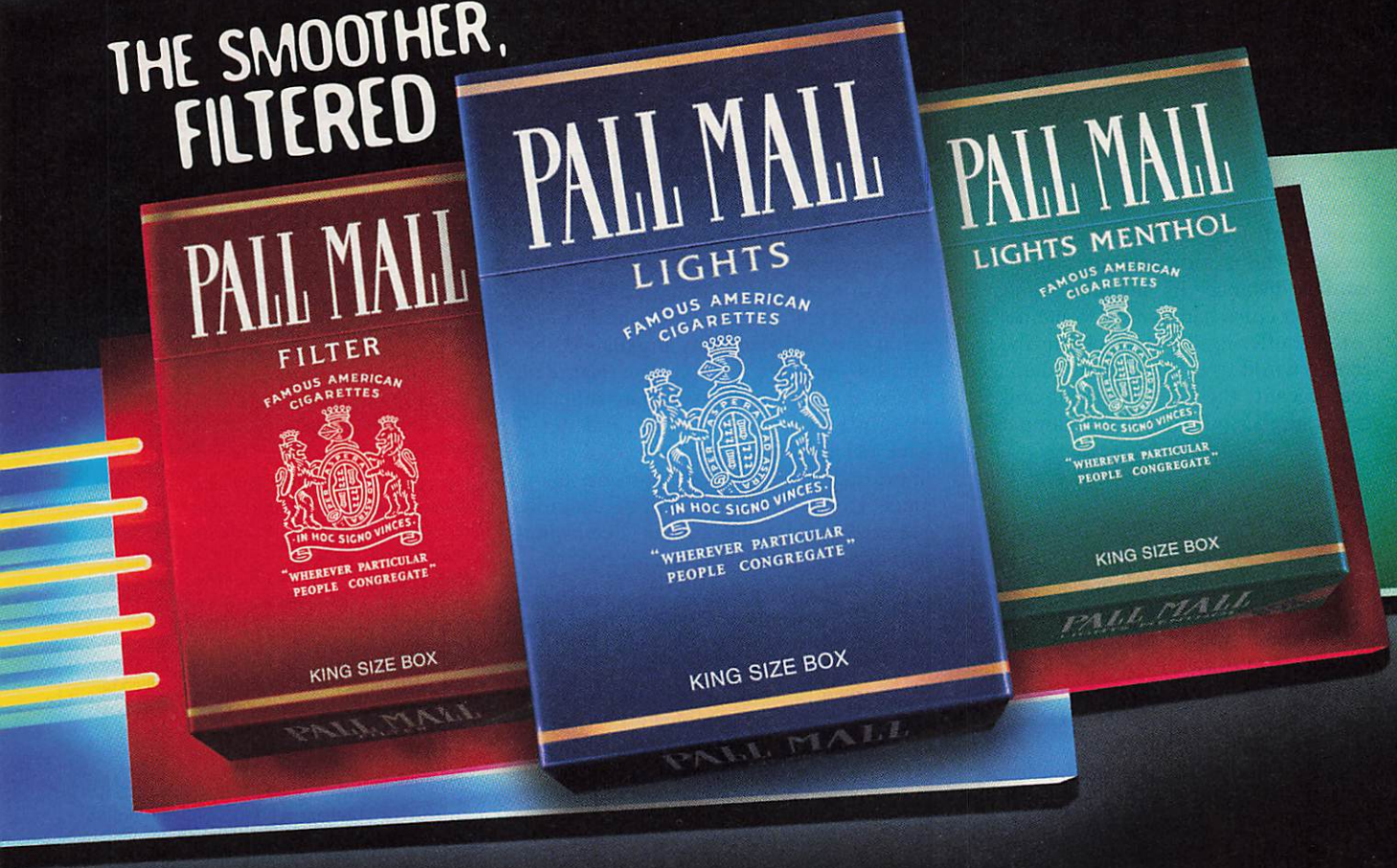
THE SMOOTHER, FILTERED



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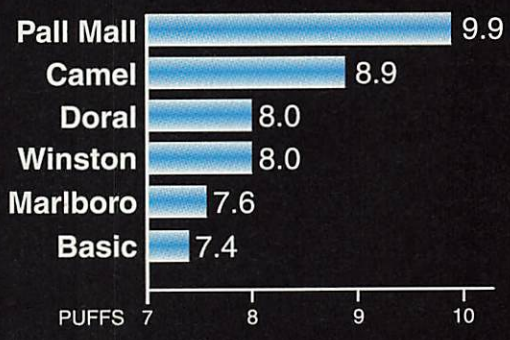

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see important steps taken to revive the commerce of the area. The absence of the World Trade Center deprives lower Manhattan not only of the people and businesses that were once there, but also threatens shops and restaurants for a substantial distance in all directions. If European cities had chosen to memorialize their sufferings from attacks during the second world war by leaving damaged areas vacant, their development and recovery surely would have been hampered.

DONA B. MORRIS
DOUGLASTON, N.Y.

Slipping Through the Cracks

CONGRATULATIONS ON AN INCREDIBLE article by Steven Brill ("This Dog Won't Hunt," June 3). He articulated everything that I feared was wrong with the Immigration and Naturalization Service. It is a damning indictment of the people who in the end may be the most critical element to the survival of our country. Brill also pinpoints that the real source of the problem is our political system. The Republicans want cheap labor for their corporate backers and the Democrats see immigrants as a potential source of votes and power. The unsuspecting American people are caught in the middle. Osama bin Laden has given America a wake-up call. Unfortunately, our government is still asleep.

R. HALL
DENTON, TEXAS

I WAS DISTURBED BY YOUR ARTICLE ON the INS and its response to the challenges of the post-September 11 world. Steven Brill's insinuation that the people of the INS do not care about protecting the lives of their fellow Americans is unfair. Since September 11, the people of INS have been working extraordinary levels of overtime to increase coverage along the border. In 2001 the INS arrested and deported more than 1.8 million people; hardly the apathetic image your story portrayed. Currently, additional agents and inspectors recently authorized by Congress are slated for the northern border, but until they can be recruited and trained, the INS has an agreement with the National Guard to assist in securing our borders. Immediately after the attacks approximately 1,000 agents were reassigned to joint terrorism investigations with the FBI. For the first time, noncitizens who have been ordered to leave the country but evaded deportation are now being entered into the FBI's nationwide database that all police use. This increased vigilance has resulted in a 28 percent decrease in attempted illegal entries into the United States. In January 2002 we launched a data-sharing system with the State Department on visa applicants from abroad. A modern entry/exit system is being designed to identify overstays. Airplane manifests are being screened to identify any suspects before they can set foot on American soil. There are other initiatives that you could have included; it's a pity you did not. I have acknowledged that the INS needs improvements and that they are being made. However, it is only fair to recognize our accomplishments and our determination to protect the American people.

JAMES W. ZIGLAR, COMMISSIONER
Immigration and Naturalization Service
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Steven Brill responds: While I did not insinuate that the people of the INS do not care about protecting their fellow Americans, I did say that the leaders of the INS have failed, and continue to fail, to respond to the urgent challenges their staff faces. Indeed, as of this writing, the INS database still can't talk to the FBI's database, the Detroit River border front is still watched by only one or two agents at any given time and, yes, that listed phone number in Detroit for the Border Patrol is still not answering, three weeks after I wrote about it.

Pint-Size and Proud

MARY CHAREST IORIO SHOULD BE proud of herself and her daughter ("My 3-Foot-9-Inch Symbol of Freedom," MY TURN, June 3). It is wonderful that she has provided her daughter the freedom and the encouragement to follow her dream of playing ice hockey. I grew up in southern Louisiana, at a time when women were told that they could not and should not do something, and that what they did didn't matter because they were girls. I knew women entering college who were told that finding a husband was more important than grades. I married a woman whose father died when she was 7. Fortunately, she had a mother who supported her dreams, and my wife is now a secure and confident woman, as well as a physician. Many thanks to Iorio for making me smile and laugh, and for the goose bumps I got when I visualized her 3-foot-9-inch daughter skating onto the ice.

RON GUILLOT
DENVER, COLO.

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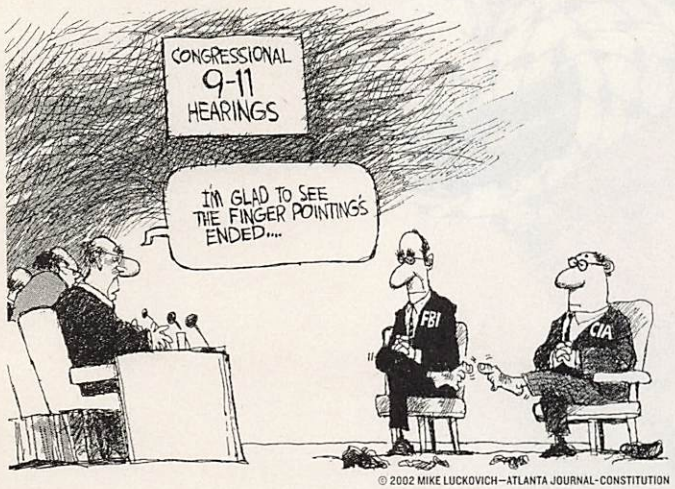
"This is Martha's day."

Dorthy Moxley, after a jury found Michael Skakel guilty of beating her daughter to death in 1975



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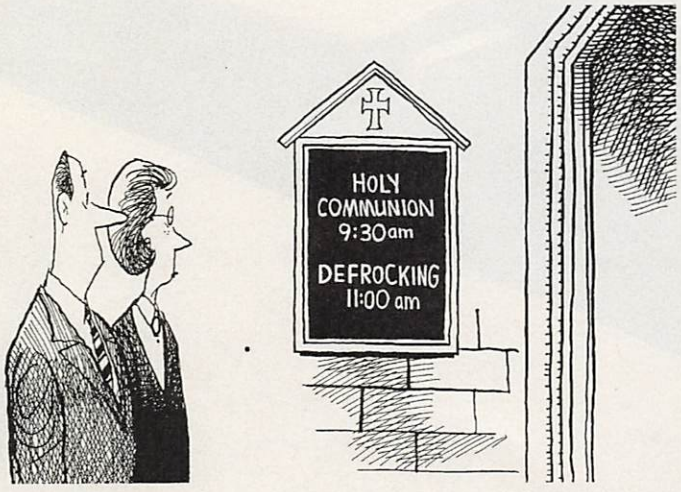
"She was able to see God's hand in it." **Doug Burnham,** speaking on behalf of American missionary Gracia Burnham, after her husband, Martin, was killed when Philippine troops tried to rescued the couple from a militant Muslim group after being held hostage for more than a year

"This *is* the priesthood, and I have to be ready to embrace suffering for things that I didn't do." Newly ordained Rev. **Tim McMorland,** on becoming a priest in a year scarred by sex scandals

"Residents of Massachusetts are used to spending time near the ocean; we know when something smells fishy." State Treasurer and Democratic nominee for governor **Shannon O'Brien,** after Republican candidate Mitt Romney received a tax break when an assessor declared his primary residence as Utah

"No one can defeat the Palestinian people." **Yasir Arafat,** after an Israeli attack left part of his presidential compound in ruin



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"I didn't know who Osama bin Laden was ... He could have been a character on 'Star Wars' for all I knew." Department of Agriculture official **Johnelle Bryant,** on her failure to report September 11 hijacker Mohamed Atta as suspicious after he threatened her and praised the Qaeda leader while applying for a government loan in May 2000

"The jester has so many implications for the human psyche. For me, it now represents the divine fool." American businessman and Tongan royal court jester **Jesse Bogdonoff,** after being sued by the Tongan government for swindling $26 million from the island nation's trust fund

"This could mean the ultimate demise of their industry." Southern California Sen. **Joe Dunn,** referring to a bill legislators are backing that will raise the legal age for buying cigarettes from 18 to 21 in California and prevent tobacco companies from targeting teenagers

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"I call this the great excuse business. If your horse runs bad, you blame it on the track." Belmont Park track superintendent **Gerard Porcelli,** on hosting horse racing's elite at this year's Triple Crown

"You don't want your daughter to marry a telemarketer." American Teleservices Association director **Matt Mattingley,** on the despised role telemarketing plays in the economy

"He's going to have to pull some strings to get me there." Ohio prison inmate **Robert Kirkpatrick,** after he was mistakenly mailed an invitation to a $2,500-a-plate fund-raising dinner with President George W. Bush

"That would be like the end of the world!" **Bulent Bozdemir,** hairstylist to both Linda Tripp and Monica Lewinsky, on the danger of the two women's scheduling an appointment on the same day

QUOTATION SOURCES FROM TOP TO BOTTOM, LEFT TO RIGHT: WASHINGTONPOST.COM, NEWSWEEK, USA TODAY, NEW YORK TIMES, REUTERS, ABCNEWS.COM, CNN.COM, REUTERS, NEW YORK TIMES, USA TODAY (2), THE WASHINGTON POST

Baby Wipes

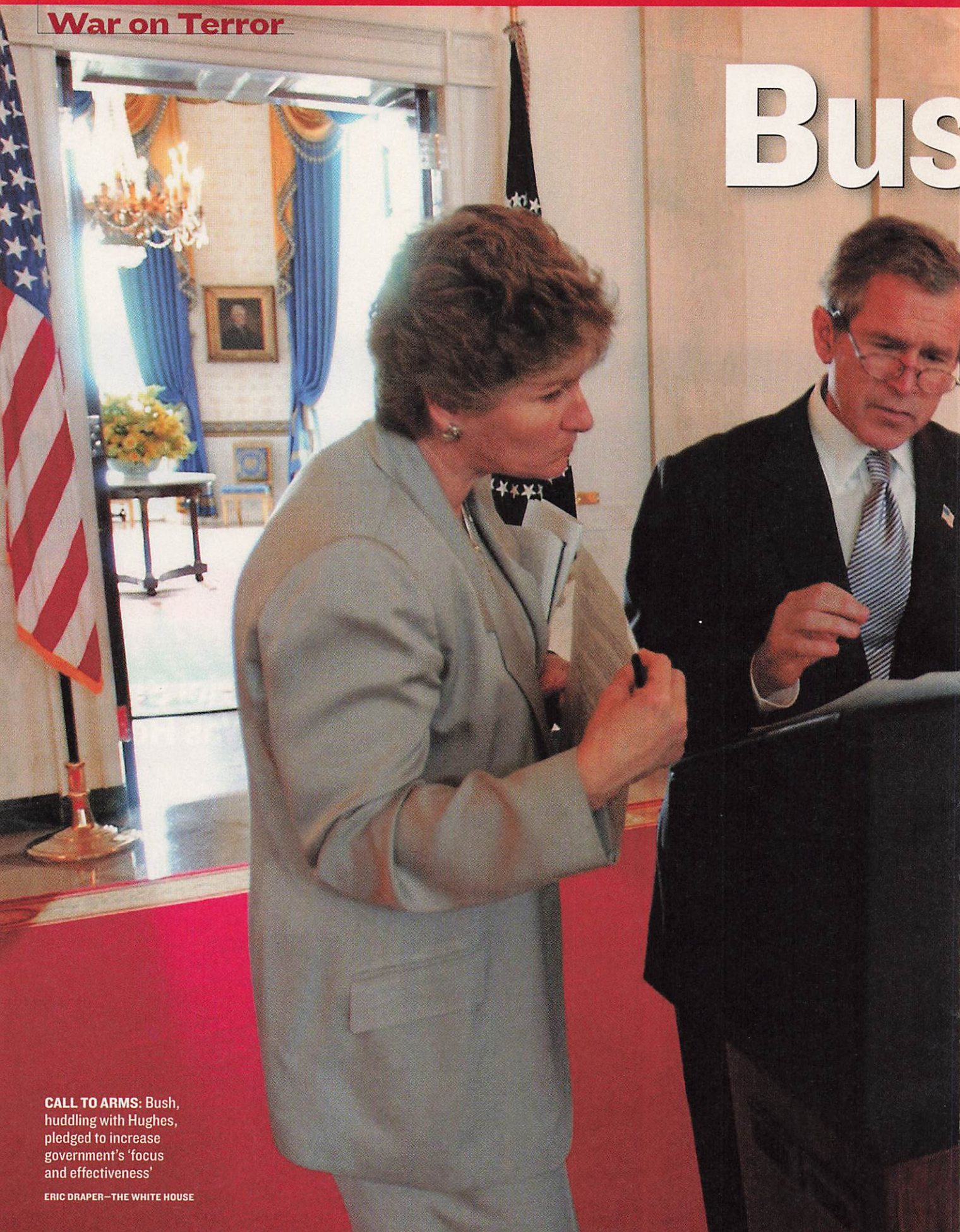
1000 Words

Ariel Sharon Was Here

YASIR ARAFAT MAY LOOK shocked, but he's been around long enough to know better. Too long, in fact, for Ariel Sharon. The Israeli P.M. has said that he wished Israel had killed Arafat back when the Palestinian was a revolutionary on the run. Now Sharon, battling a wave of bombings, would love somehow to get rid of Arafat (without getting blamed for it). After a suicide bomb killed 17 Israelis early last week, Israeli forces fired on Arafat's Ramallah HQ, damaging his bedroom and killing a guard. To nobody's surprise, attacks on Israel continued.

DAVID SILVERMAN—GETTY IMAGES

Bus



CALL TO ARMS: Bush, huddling with Hughes, pledged to increase government's 'focus and effectiveness'

ERIC DRAPER—THE WHITE HOUSE

...sh's Homeland Shuffle

Facing fire, the president hatched a secret plan. The roots of a shake-up—and whether it'll make us safer.

BY HOWARD FINEMAN AND TAMARA LIPPER

GEORGE W. BUSH LOVES TO have a secret plan, and to be with people who don't know what's about to hit them. Which is why he was such a suspiciously happy host at the White House's annual picnic for members of Congress last Wednesday night. He had reasons to be glum: his European trip had been panned. The right was growing restive. The CIA and the FBI were busy torching each other. Coleen Rowley, the FBI whistle-blower, was in town, preparing to stuff her bosses into the wood chipper the next day on Capitol Hill.

Yet Bush was all smiles as he worked the crowd on the South Lawn, because he knew something they didn't: a week earlier, after a month of urgent study by White House aides (who met in deepest secrecy in the basement bunker), he had decided to shift course in the war on terror. Not only would he embrace the idea of establishing a Department of Homeland Security, he'd propose that it be of breathtaking scope—and announce it the next night on national TV. In the mean-

time it was fun to cruise the lawn, dropping tantalizing hints. He stopped to chat with Rep. Jane Harman, the California Democrat who had long championed the concept Bush was about to steal. "Jane," Bush said, grinning. "You're doing a great job!"

Sooner or later it had to happen: if you run a war from Washington, the commanders will put down the field maps and take up the organizational charts. Until now, at least rhetorically, the president has preferred to be seen as a skeptic of bureaucracy, impatient with administrative detail. But in one of the most sweeping proposals of modern times, Bush now wants Congress to dislodge some 50 pieces from eight departments and fashion them into a monumental contraption with 170,000 employees, a starting budget of $37 billion and an optimistic launch date of Jan. 1, 2003.

In a brief (13 minutes) address—not profound enough, his handlers decided, to be given from the Oval Office—the president vowed to "increase the focus and effectiveness" of government, retrofitting it for the insidious wars of the 21st century. Sen. Ted Kennedy grumbled that Bush was "rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic," but most congressional leaders praised the plan, noting that it drew on myriad recent studies, and bills already in Congress. Sen. Joe Lieberman, another proponent of the concept, predicted the Hill would act. "Shame on us if we don't," he said. White House insiders were relieved to have put the onus for inaction elsewhere. "Congress better get off its ass," said one. "They need to not turn this into their usual circus."

But the plan, and the way it was unveiled, raised questions. Given longstanding support for most of its features, why did Bush launch it now, not months ago? Would the new megadepartment make the country safer, or merely provide Bush with temporary political cover? Will it address the failure of intelligence agencies to share investigative information? And who will run the sprawling enterprise?

In Washington, where politics is about personnel, the last question came first. The initial assumption was that the job would be tailor-made for Tom Ridge, the Marine and former Pennsylvania governor whom Bush had recruited last fall to run the new Office of Homeland Defense. Indeed, the president asked Ridge, also a former congressman, to lobby the Hill on behalf of the plan.

But top White House officials declined to back Ridge for the job. "That's way too hypothetical a question," chief of staff Andrew H. Card Jr. told NEWSWEEK. Instead, top aides cited reasons why Ridge might not seek it. If Congress doesn't give the department broad powers, Card said, "I don't think Tom Ridge would want to do it." Another senior aide noted that he "has small children"—as if hoping that family values would take him out of the running. Other possibilities: FEMA Director Joe Allbaugh, a coldblooded administrator who ran the trains in Bush's 2000 campaign, and (Bush could only dare hope) former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani. Ridge himself warily remained mum.

In fact, the plan unveiled last week had its roots in White House exasperation with Ridge's inability to fundamentally reshape the bureaucracy on his own. In March, Card told NEWSWEEK, he "took a couple

Newsweek MSNBC For daily coverage of politics and the war on terror by our correspondents, log on to Newsweek.MSNBC.com

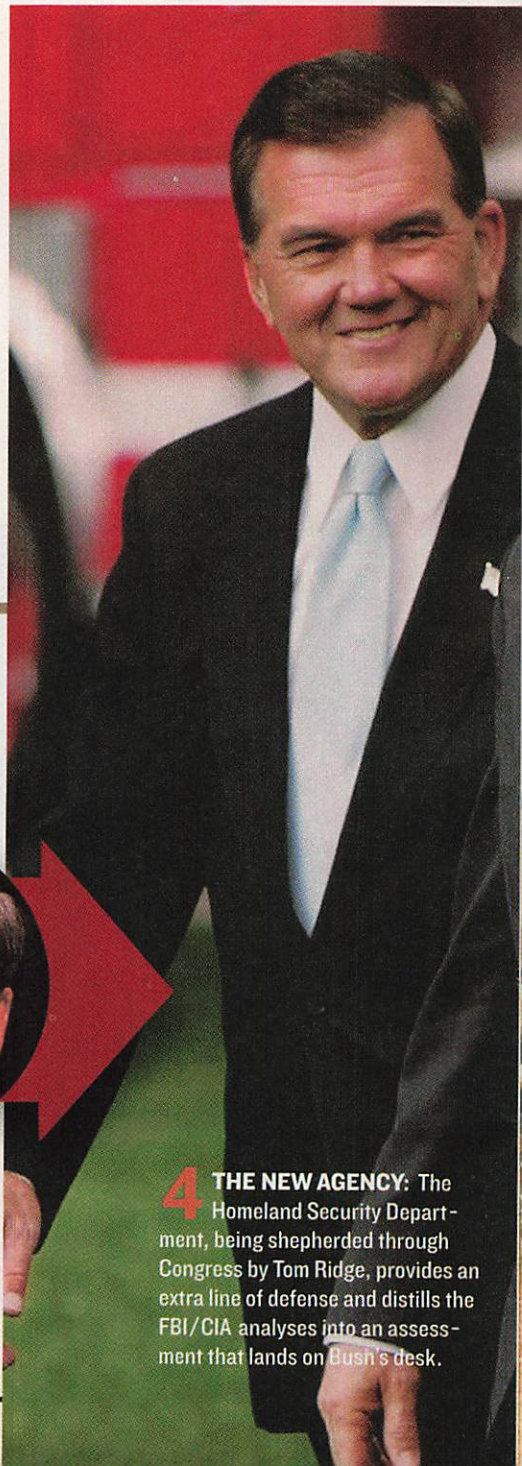
The Threat Pipeline

In the largest overhaul of the federal landscape since 1947, President Bush's proposal for a new cabinet agency to oversee domestic security is intended to improve the way the government deals with Terror Inc. A look at how the new system imagines processing a threat:

1 THE THREAT: U.S. intelligence agents abroad obtain information that terrorists are planning to harm the United States.

2 THE CIA: The U.S. spy agency, with George Tenet at the helm, evaluates the threat and disseminates the info to domestic law-enforcement agencies, namely the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

3 THE FBI: Under reforms announced last week by Director Robert Mueller, the bureau—soon to be staffed with hundreds of new agents—shares info from subsequent investigation with the CIA.



4 THE NEW AGENCY: The Homeland Security Department, being shepherded through Congress by Tom Ridge, provides an extra line of defense and distills the FBI/CIA analyses into an assessment that lands on Bush's desk.

FROM LEFT: RICK ENGLAN—FPG—GETTY IMAGES, WILLIAM PHILPOT—REUTERS, PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES OMMANNEY—CONTACT FOR NEWSWEEK, RON EDMOND—AP, PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRIS USHER—APIX FOR NEWSWEEK, PHOTOGRAPH BY KHUE BUI FOR NEWSWEEK

of silo looks inside of what Tom Ridge was doing"—without informing Ridge. "I drilled down to see the work product," Card said, and discovered that the bureaucracy was resisting change at every turn.

Card eventually told Ridge what he'd been up to—and informed him that he was going to take his concerns to the president. Ridge, himself frustrated, agreed on the need for a new approach. On April 23 Card briefed the president—without Ridge. Bush authorized Card to assemble a team to "deep dive" into a search for a sweeping reorganization plan. The "worker bees," as Card calls them, hunkered down in the PEOC, the Presidential Emergency Operations Center, in a 24/7 effort to come up with a list of eight options in 10 days.

DRILLING DOWN: In early April, Card says, he 'took a couple of silo looks inside of what Tom Ridge was doing'—without telling Ridge

Why the urgency? For one, nothing had been done to that point, and political heat was intensifying: on May 3 the FBI's "Phoenix memo" surfaced, and the administration had reason to worry that others might eventually appear.

The worker bees emerged on May 6. A wider group of principals, including Ridge, picked an option on May 21 and penciled in June 6 for its unveiling. Bush, briefed aboard Air Force One on his trip to Europe, gave his OK on May 30. Among the options rejected: putting the FBI, the National Guard and public hospitals under the new department's control.

Normally tight-lipped White House insiders had an obvious reason for divulging such details: to offer convincing evidence that the plan was something more—and more serious—than a last-minute attempt to draw attention away from Rowley's appearance. Card had his own reasons for portraying himself as a did-do guy. An article in the new Esquire quotes him lamenting the pending departure of counselor Karen Hughes. "The whole balance of the place ... is gone, simply gone," he says, adding that his biggest concern is "that the president will lose confidence in the White House staff."

Well, the White House was still nimble enough to take advantage of the coincidence of overlapping events. A background briefing on the plan was scheduled to take place at the same time as Rowley's appearance. Bush's speech, not originally planned for prime time, was punched up by Hughes (in one of her last acts before returning to Texas) to include a status report on the war, and an admonition to CIA and FBI higher-ups to "treat with the seriousness it deserves" any report (such as Rowley's) they get from "frontline" workers below.

From the start, Card's worker bees were told that the plan should include an agency to "fuse" intelligence from all other governmental sources. But planners didn't consult with any significant player in the intelligence community. And they were dubious that agencies such as the FBI and CIA (both blindsided by the plan) would cooperate fully, let alone cough up raw data. For now the two agencies were still at war, and too busy dealing with investigations. The Senate Intelligence Committees, NEWSWEEK learned, has decided to start taking sworn depositions from potential witnesses before allowing them to testify. It's a more prosecutorial approach. "The tone of this investigation is getting more serious," said one source.

Meanwhile the White House aides touted the "dot connecting" features of their plan, even as they admitted that they had avoided dealing with the gravest bureaucratic question: whether to merge the CIA, FBI and the rest (including the National Security Agency and Defense Intelligence Agency) into a single super spy-and-counterterrorism operation. That's the organization chart that needs examining now—and one that Bush will have to launch another secret plan to change.

With ELEANOR CLIFT, MICHAEL HIRSH and MICHAEL ISIKOFF

5 THE PRESIDENT: Bush consults with his closest advisers, including national-security guru Condi Rice and chief of staff Andrew Card, in deciding how to proceed and best protect the country.

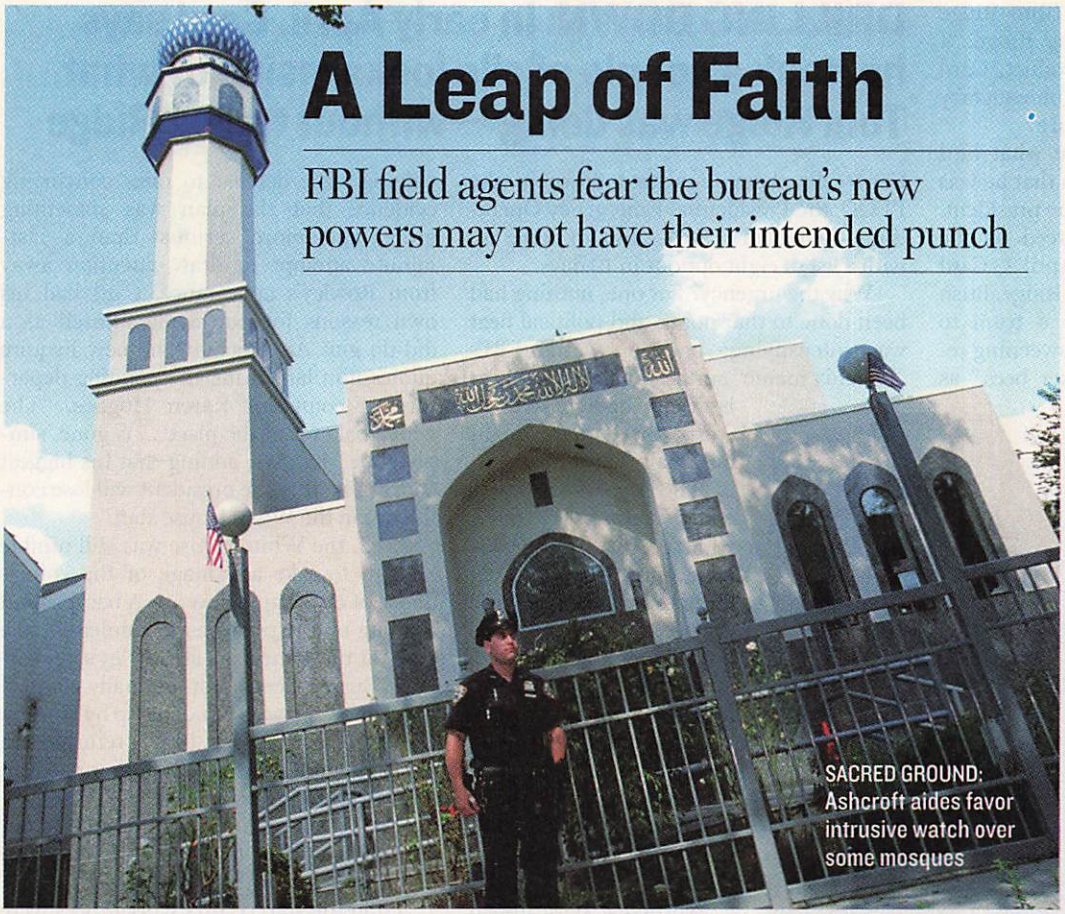
-KAREN YOURISH

CARD

RICE

A Leap of Faith

FBI field agents fear the bureau's new powers may not have their intended punch



SACRED GROUND: Ashcroft aides favor intrusive watch over some mosques

TIMOTHY FADEK—GAMMA

BY MARK HOSENBALL AND DANIEL KLAIDMAN

YOU'D THINK THERE'D BE high-fives in FBI field offices across the country. When Attorney General John Ashcroft and FBI Director Robert Mueller granted broad new powers to federal agents pursuing terrorists, the White House and many members of Congress praised the move as an important advance in the fight against Osama bin Laden. Gumshoes can now trail suspicious people in public places and monitor them on Web sites and public databases, even if there's no evidence that they've committed a crime.

The new rules don't give agents total power: they'll still have to get special warrants before they can bug phones or probe financial records. But the Justice Department believes the guidelines, with their emphasis on "detection and prevention," will be an essential tool, particularly for the new corps of antiterrorism agents and analysts that Mueller envisions. Justice officials are already eying just how far the rules will allow them to go. The new guidelines say that FBI agents "shall not hesitate" to use "intrusive" methods of investigation if they are "warranted in light of the seriousness of the crime ... This point is to be particularly observed in investigations relating to terrorist activities." NEWSWEEK has learned that Ashcroft aides believe the rules allow FBI agents to conduct intrusive surveillance at radical mosques, "disrupting" terrorists where they pray. The agents could take down names and license-plate numbers—to gather information and make it harder for terrorists to use the mosque as an operations center. "They're not going to be plotting there. They're going to disperse," says an administration official.

An FBI spokesman says that the bureau does not plan to use the new powers to "launch a fishing expedition." Yet many experienced FBI agents on the ground are quietly dismissive of the new rules. Surprisingly, some worry the guidelines may hinder their ability to bring terrorists to justice—especially if agents, under pressure to get results, overreach. "We've already had our hands slapped so many times for being cowboys," says one longtime agent. "Nobody is shouting, 'We're free at last.'"

Since the mid-'70s, the FBI had been strictly prohibited from collecting information on people or groups unless there was a reasonable suspicion that they were involved in criminal activity. The restrictions were there for a reason. J. Edgar Hoover's penchant for trailing and wiretapping civil-rights leaders and Vietnam protesters had violated the rights of countless law-abiding Americans.

Thirty years later, caution runs deep in the bureau's bones. "It's been beaten into us that everything we investigate has to be predicated on something real," says a veteran field agent.

It's not that agents object to keeping tabs on terrorists or the mosques where they might hide. Al Qaeda has used mosques to shield terrorists from the law, sometimes planning operations with the help of radical imams. Officials say the old rules prevented the Feds early on from keeping close watch on Omar Abdel Rahman, the Egyptian blind sheik convicted of plotting to blow up New York City landmarks. But some law-enforcement officials are concerned that going into mosques flashing badges would only drive terrorists underground—and ruin their ability to develop inside informants. "I'm sure there are Ashcroft aides saying we can scare the bejesus out of these people by sending G-men to sit in their dark sedans outside mosques or crawl around the parking lots taking down license-plate numbers," says an FBI agent. "But this isn't a Communist Party meeting in 1936. Times have changed."

Some of the grousing by agents may have to do with the way the guidelines were imposed from on high. Last week Mueller surprised senators when he admitted that, though he'd been briefed about the new rules, he hadn't read them until after they were announced. Now he's left to convince the skeptical men and women in the field that the future of the FBI may depend on borrowing a few pages from the past. ■

ON THE STREET: 'We've had our hands slapped so many times,' says one agent. 'Nobody is shouting, "We're free at last".'

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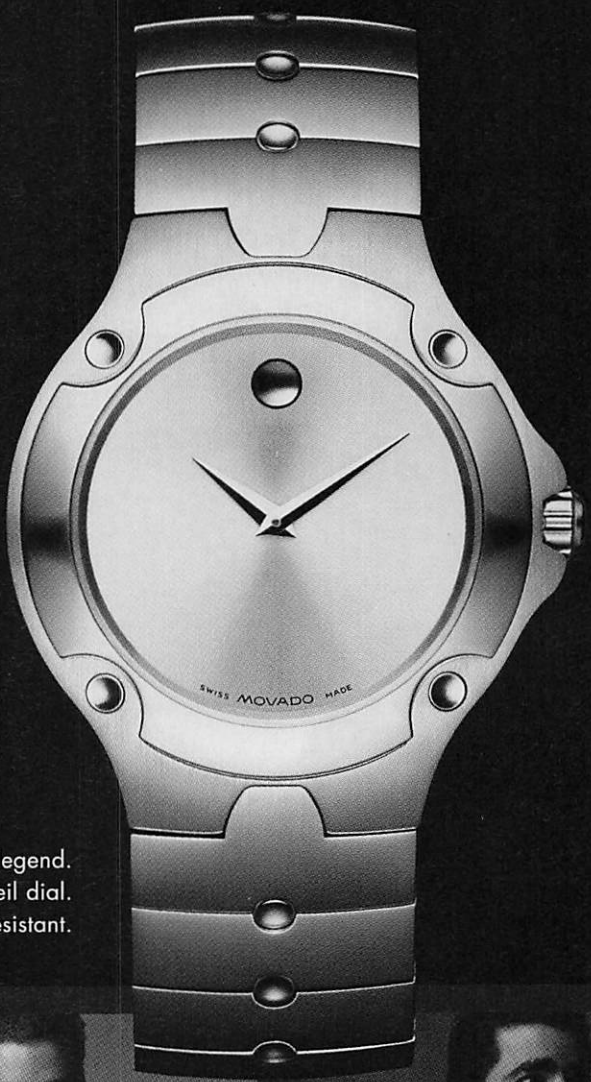
the art of time



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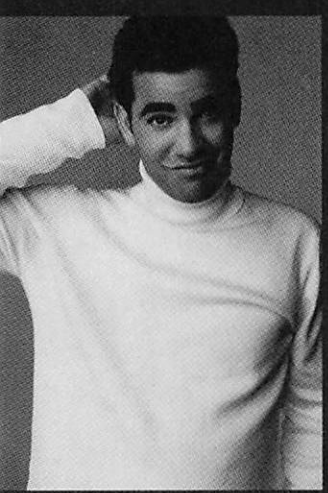

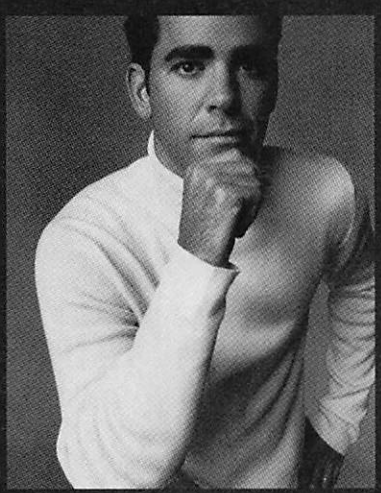

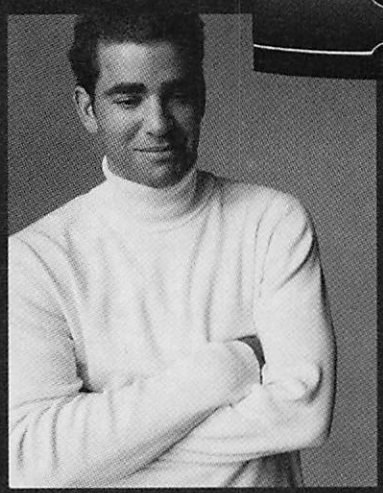

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Jonathan Alter

Better Late Than Never

NOT LONG AFTER SEPTEMBER 11, CITY OFFICIALS TOLD NEW York Mayor Rudy Giuliani that a damaged building near Ground Zero could not be reoccupied for at least 10 days. "It took God seven days to create the earth, so we can do better than that, don't you think?" Giuliani told the bureaucrats. The building opened in five. In fact, the entire Ground Zero was cleared months ahead of schedule.

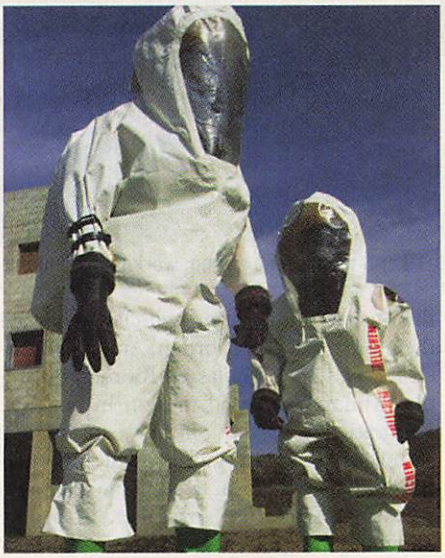
If only the same were true in Washington, where almost every homeland-security initiative is drooping. Now, finally, under pressure, President Bush is taking a few steps to fix the system. His sensible reorganization plan is necessary but not sufficient to keep us from getting attacked again.

That's because flow charts aren't hearts. Rearranging the reporting relationships works only if you're now reporting to the right person. Call me impatient, but I don't think that person is Tom Ridge. As director of the White House Office of Homeland Security, Ridge had a chance to kick some bureaucratic butt. He didn't.

The explanation is that Ridge lacks the budget authority and staff. True, as far as it goes. Without a cabinet-level department, the former Keystone State governor was the keystone to practically nothing. Ridge isn't totally helpless; many of the players like working with him just fine. But he needs more bureaucratic clout.

This was clear immediately after 9-11 to almost everyone in Washington except Ridge himself. Former senators Gary Hart and Warren Rudman issued a bipartisan-commission report in January 2001—nine months before the attacks—that persuasively explained why a new agency was essential to unify the far-flung homeland-defense functions. Amazingly, it took Hart and Rudman five months after Ridge came to Washington just to get a meeting with him. Of course, the fact that Hart is a Democrat and Rudman a McCain man had *nothing* to do with them getting stiffed by the White House.

It's not as if the bureaucratic problems were just discovered last week. The administration knew last fall, for instance, that no fewer than 11 different databases are used by border-security agencies, none of which is compatible with the others; that agencies needing to communicate use different frequencies; that the nuclear-response teams (Department of Energy) and radiological-weapons response teams (Health and Human Services) are totally uncoordinated. And that's just for starters. The need for consolidation was obvious, but because a new cabinet agency would annoy small-government conservatives, Bush balked, even after 9-11. Politics trumped security.



PALMOUR HAYNE—GAMMA

SUITING UP: Politics trumped security

Imagine if Franklin Roosevelt had heard it was going to take two or three years to put American troops in the field against Hitler

And it will continue to do so—among the Democrats as well. They should embrace the bill and avoid helping the unions pick it to pieces. "People are going to come up with a hundred reasons to not do this or that," says GOP Rep. Mac Thornberry, the only member of Congress with the foresight to have proposed last year that the Hart-Rudman idea become law. "If that snowballs, the whole thing could come apart."

Not likely; there's too much momentum. But supporters of the bill should distinguish between critics who want to protect their status quo turf, and those who want to make the new department even stronger by including some counterterrorism units currently in the FBI. The latter critics are right: the bill can be more ambitious.

Of course, placing agencies with related functions under the same roof hardly ends bureaucratic squabbling (witness the way the FBI and the DEA, both in the Justice Department, go after each other). But stirring the alphabet soup occasionally is generally helpful for middle managers. As long as they don't dawdle over choosing new carpets and stationery instead of finding terrorists, the adjustment can be invigorating. And a new agency is practically the only way to get frontline government employees what they need most to win the war—computers that actually talk to each other.

FBI Director Robert Mueller testified last week that it would take two to three years just to change the lame computer system at the FBI. Imagine if Franklin Roosevelt had heard it was going to take two or three years to put American troops in the field against Hitler. Imagine if Rudy Giuliani had heard it was going to take two or three years to clean up Ground Zero. Giuliani probably won't get the job; he's not enough of a loyalist for the Bushies. But a Giuliani type (Jack Welch?) is essential—to bring in a crew of formidable computer geeks and tell them to get new information technology and get it *yesterday*. Last week President Bush said he wanted his reorganization in place by the end of the year. He should have said by the end of the summer.

ALTER'S e-mail is alterj@NEWSWEEK.com.

A Galloping Dark Horse

Nobody thought Bill Simon had a prayer of winning California's statehouse. What's he doing in a dead heat?

BY KAREN BRESLAU

IN ORANGE COUNTY, ONCE represented by Rep. "B-1 Bob" Dornan, it's impossible to say anything too harsh about a Democrat—especially if his name is Gov. Gray Davis and you are the Republican nominee gunning for his job. Speaking last week to the Lincoln Club, the GOP's most faithful, Bill Simon gave it his best shot. "I want to run a positive campaign, so I hope you'll permit me to bring up a few things about Gray Davis," said Simon, with a sly grin. "He's a good campaigner and a good fund-raiser, but he just happens to be an awful governor." The Lincoln Club waited for the knockout punch, but it never came; Simon cut short his assault before it had even begun. The well-heeled crowd snickered appreciatively and stared at their plates, still hungry for red meat. But by then, Simon was back on message, looking every bit like Clark Kent as he lectured earnestly about building roads and boosting water supplies.

It was this decorous, Eagle Scout quality that made many Republicans doubt whether Simon, a businessman who has never held elective office, could win the Republican primary in the first place. But last March he overcame a 30-point gap in the polls to defeat former Los Angeles mayor Richard Riordan. Simon's victory stunned the Bush administration, which had backed the more moderate Riordan. And it delighted Davis, who had blasted Riordan during the primary with $10 million in negative ads, anticipating that Simon's conservative stands on abortion, gun control and environmental regulation would make him a weaker opponent in November. "If people knew anything about him it was, 'Oh, my God, he's a right-wing Republican,'" says Davis polltaker Paul Maslin.

But a funny thing happened on the way to the landslide: instead of collapsing, Simon, 50, has advanced in recent weeks into a virtual dead heat with Davis. While Simon has yet to issue coherent policies, he has moved deftly to defuse perhaps his biggest political liability in pro-choice California. He recently told a GOP women's group that, as governor, he would never interfere with a woman's legal right to an abortion. Simon is also enjoying the belated embrace of George W. Bush, who is helping with fund-raising chores—and sending his wife, Laura, for a rare political appearance in San Francisco this week.

Meanwhile, Davis, scarred by California's energy crisis and a mounting budget deficit, has seen his popularity plunge. Suddenly, the prospect of a Simon victory is no longer as farfetched as it seemed three months ago. "Voters may not know much about Bill, but they know plenty about Davis," says former governor Pete Wilson. "That's enough for Bill."

But Davis, who has spent decades in California politics, still has enormous advantages, starting with the fact that California is an overwhelmingly Democratic state. With $40 million in the bank, Davis last week launched TV ads to repair his tattered image. Ads attacking Simon are in the can. "He's a babe in the woods," says Davis adviser Garry South.

While Simon lags in fund-raising, he can dip into a personal fortune—he founded a successful investment firm with his father, former Nixon Treasury secretary William E. Simon. The candidate says his lack of political experience shouldn't scare voters away. "There are times it's good to have an outsider," Simon told NEWSWEEK. "I've had the kind of experience where you sign the front of the check instead of the back." If he plans on being governor of California, Bill Simon had better keep his pen handy.

With ANDREW MURR in Los Angeles

PHOTOGRAPH BY TED SOQUI—CORBIS SYGMA FOR NEWSWEEK

POWER SURGE: Simon on the stump, working his mild brand of magic

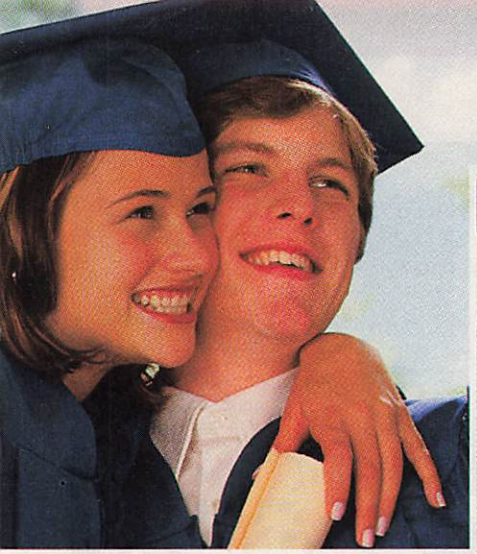
The Tragic End to a Hostage Ordeal

The phone rang at 3:45 a.m. last Friday at the Rose Hill, Kans., home of Paul and Oreta Burnham. It was the call they had been praying for. But it was the news they had been dreading. Their son Martin, 42, and his wife, Gracia, 43, had finally been found in a Philippine jungle, 500 miles south of Manila, after 376 days as the hostages of Qaeda-linked Islamic rebels. Philippine soldiers on maneuvers had intercepted the guerrilla band that was holding the missionary couple. There was a shoot-out. When it was over, Gracia, emaciated and suffering from a bullet wound in her leg, was taken to a military hospital. Martin was dead. So was Edibora Yap, a Filipina nurse who had also been kidnapped by the Abu Sayyaf group.

The Burnhams' ordeal began on May 27, 2001, when rebel gunmen attacked the Philippine beach resort where the couple were celebrating their 18th anniversary. Efforts to free them failed repeatedly. Relatives sent $300,000 ransom to the rebels, who denied receiving it and threatened to kill the couple. The U.S. government posted a $5 million bounty for information leading to the capture of Abu Sayyaf's leaders. Last week President Bush called the older Burnhams to offer his sympathy. Flags were flying at half-staff in Rose Hill, and hand-lettered cardboard signs on neighbors' porches still urged townfolk to PRAY FOR THE BURNHAMS.

ABS-CBN—AP

IN CAPTIVITY: The Burnhams were held for more than a year by the guerrillas of Abu Sayyaf



For Dad or Grad...

Tips to Make Everything Click on Their Special Days

Whatever occasion your family is celebrating this season, gifts from Canon's own family of easy-to-use-and-load cameras help turn precious moments into lifetime memories.

ONE-OF-A-KIND

Your one-of-a-kind Dad deserves a one-of-a-kind picture, so experiment with different camera angles to get that special shot. And to keep those baby blues from turning red use the ELPH Z3 and Sure Shot Z155 built-in flash with Red-Eye Reduction.

PORTRAIT POWER

Fill the viewfinder with a tightly cropped shot of your subject to avoid empty space. Even if Mom's a little camera shy, you can use the zoom to take a candid shot from across the room, yard or beach.

RAISE THE COLORS

To capture your grad's school spirit use Kodak's Advantix 400 for crystal clear images and brilliant colors. Use Kodak MAX 800, Versatility Plus film for low-light, fast action and blur reduction. Or try Kodak MAX 400 to achieve sharp, rich color saturation.

ELPH Z3

- Stylish, sleek, durable and lightweight 2.3x zoom
- Large easy-to-read illuminated LCD data panel on the back
- Built-in flash with Red-Eye Reduction
- APS features such as 3 picture sizes including panoramic, Drop-in Loading and Mid-Roll Change

APS

SURE SHOT Z155

- Compact, lightweight, world's smallest 4.2x zoom camera (as of Feb 02)
- Embossed metal exterior with teal comfort grip
- 5-mode built-in flash including Red-Eye Reduction
- 7-Mode Best Shot Dial for pinpoint control over the most popular and often challenging situations (like evening shots outside)

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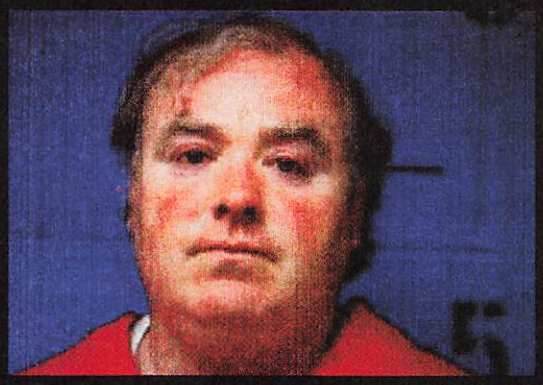
CRUSADER: Dorthy Moxley exults as the lengthy fight for justice for her slain daughter, Martha, ends with a jury's finding Skakel guilty

At Long Last, 'Martha's Day'

Dorthy Moxley spent 27 years seeking justice for her slain daughter. She finally got it.



BY SUZANNE SMALLEY AND T. TRENT GEGAX

THE JOURNEY FROM TRAGEDY to truth would stretch more than a quarter century. There had long been whispers in moneyed Greenwich, Conn., that a son of privilege, Michael Skakel, a nephew of Ethel Kennedy, had gotten away with a murder in paradise, the brutal killing of a cute 15-year-old girl, Martha Moxley. Even when the case seemed cold, the girl's mother, Dorthy, never gave up pressing for answers. A jury convicted Skakel last week of the 1975 murder. And Dorthy Moxley, now wrinkled and 70 years old, returned to her daughter's grave with flowers and, at last, a measure of justice. Hovering over the final resting place, she spoke to Martha—and to her deceased husband, David, whose grave lies alongside: "Hey, guys, we did it."

The conviction was a triumph for prosecutors, who built a case with no eyewitnesses and no forensic evidence. The matter might have gone forever unsolved but for the girl's crusading mother, who used a mountain of optimism and a million dollars to keep the case alive. The courtroom presence of the stooped woman with thinning hair was so powerful that lead defense attorney Mickey Sherman—who acknowledged the mother as "the essence of elegance"—queried potential jurors about whether they could acquit Skakel given how much it would hurt Moxley. After the stunning verdict, Moxley, who wore a scales-of-justice brooch throughout the five-week trial, told NEWSWEEK, simply, "You keep going when someone does something so terrible to one of your children—you don't forget."

The last time she saw Martha alive was "mischief night," the eve of Halloween, in 1975. The blond teenager never came home after a night at the Skakels'. She was found in a pool of blood under a tree. Martha's neck had been impaled with the shaft of a golf club and her underwear was pulled down, though she was not raped. Investigators determined that she knew her attacker and that Skakel, then 15, and his brother, Tommy, then 17, were among the last people to see her alive.

But investigators ran into dead ends. Dorthy's husband, David, became so frustrated that he paid Detroit homicide detectives to fly to Greenwich and help the local police on the case. He died in 1988 of a heart attack—a broken heart, Dorthy says. The Skakel family's connection to the Kennedys at first cowed investigators, but eventually proved crucial in reopening the case. During the 1991 rape trial of William Kennedy Smith, which ended in an acquittal, the National Enquirer published an erroneous story that linked Smith to Martha's murder. True-crime TV shows quickly followed, one producing a witness who testified that Skakel had confessed to him: "I did it."

With her husband and daughter gone, Dorthy Moxley broke 15 years of relative silence on the case. "I realized I couldn't just sit around and cry anymore," she says. She became a fixture at the Greenwich police station and courted the press, her "team of

CLOCKWISE FROM LEFT: BOB CHILD—AP, GETTY IMAGES POOL, CONNECTICUT DEPT. OF CORRECTION—AP

angels," as she calls Newsday's Len Levitt, crime writer Tim Dumas and novelist Dominick Dunne. "She had this amazing capacity to do the unexpected," says John McCreight, a friend who stood by Moxley. "She knew that if she kept the light on this the right thing would happen, and it did." The biggest break came in 1992, when Levitt was leaked a report that Michael Skakel's father, Rushton, had commissioned from private investigators to exonerate his family. In it, Michael changed his alibi: he had gone looking for Martha that night and, not finding her in her bedroom, climbed a nearby tree and masturbated.

On its face, the state's case was merely a mosaic of circumstantial evidence. But Skakel wasn't a sympathetic defendant, especially juxtaposed with Dorthy Moxley. His life seemed to enhance his shady image—he didn't have a job, had substance-abuse problems and went home to live with his father after a divorce. Defense lawyers sought to burnish his standing by noting that he was a father and a competitive speed skier.

In the end, the scales were tipped against him by prosecutor Jonathan Benedict's trenchant closing argument. Benedict was able to connect the dots for jurors with testimony in the case, some of it provided by Skakel's sister, that suggested he was at the scene and showed that he had changed his alibi more than once. Prosecutors cited Skakel's rivalry with his brother—Michael believed Martha had spurned his affections for brother Tommy—as the motive for the killing. Perhaps more than anything, Skakel was hurt by his own inability to stop talking about his behavior on the night of the murder—with peers at the Elan drug-and-alcohol-rehab center, in discussions with his family's chauffeur, in talks with a book ghostwriter and conversations with a childhood friend. "It was the whole picture," a juror told NEWSWEEK. "It was no one thing."

Moxley's crusade isn't over. Sentencing is set for July 19, when Skakel faces up to life in prison. But Sherman, the spirited defense lawyer, says he will appeal the verdict. "As long as there's breath in my body," he says, "this case won't be over." He could argue that the case should never have been removed from juvenile court. He could also bang away on the dearth of evidence, alleged juror misconduct and the reliability of statements made by a deceased witness who was a heroin addict. Appeals could go on for years. But whatever strategies the defense might try, one thing is certain. As she has shown for 27 years, Dorthy Moxley will not give up. ■

'A Man Took Elizabeth'

In Salt Lake City, a teenage girl is snatched from her slumber

COURTESY SMART FAMILY—REUTERS; (BELOW) MATTHEW HAITFIELD—REUTERS

GRABBED: Edward Smart pleads for the safe return of his 14-year-old daughter Elizabeth

BY ANDREW MURR AND KEVIN PERAINO

THREE HUNDRED EIGHTH graders and their families gathered in the auditorium of a Salt Lake City middle school Friday for what should have been a joyous occasion: graduation day. But as the diplomas were doled out, watery eyes focused on an empty chair honoring the one student who was absent, Elizabeth Ann Smart. Two days earlier a man had apparently cut through a screen window in the kitchen of the Smart family's seven-bedroom hillside mansion, climbed to the second floor and snatched 14-year-old Elizabeth at gunpoint from her bed as her 9-year-old sister watched, horrified. Told by the kidnapper that her sister would be harmed if she woke up her parents, Mary Catherine cowered for two hours before a clock sounding in the house jolted her out of fear enough to run to her parents' bedroom. "My daughter came into our room and said, 'A man took Elizabeth'," a shaken Edward Smart told NEWSWEEK. At first, "I just thought she was having a bad dream."

Now, Edward Smart is living out every parent's worst fear. He's not alone. Even as the plight of the prominent Mormon family mobilized a volunteer army to help comb nearby mountains and canyons for any sign of Elizabeth, two frighteningly similar cases were making headlines. In San Diego, the trial of David Westerfield, accused of murdering the 7-year-old daughter of his neighbors after kidnapping her in the middle of the night, got underway last week. And on the same night Elizabeth went missing, a 14-year-old girl in Idaho Falls was abducted while she slept outside her home on a trampoline with her sister. (In that case, the girl escaped.)

The vast majority of kidnappings in America are perpetrated by family in custody battles; a much smaller group—200 to 300 a year, according to FBI statistics—are snatched by strangers. While Salt Lake City police say they have no reason to suspect the family, they're not ruling anybody out yet. The only solid lead comes from Elizabeth's sister, who describes the kidnapper as white, with black hair, wearing a light-colored baseball cap, polo shirt and khakis; police estimate he is between 28 and 40 years old, and about 5 feet 8 inches tall. On Thursday night volunteer searchers said they spotted a man in a nearby canyon who seemed to fit that description, but the search came up empty. On Saturday, police questioned a man who had been seen with Elizabeth before her disappearance, but that too yielded no clues.

Drained by the ordeal, Elizabeth's father was hospitalized for exhaustion Friday. But the rest of the family continued its grass-roots efforts to find the missing girl. With hundreds of thousands of acres of desert to the west, and giant mountain ranges to the east, there are a lot of places for a man in a white baseball cap—and a girl he may have with him—to hide.

With JEFF RICE in Salt Lake City

Afghanistan

Day of the 'Vampire'

As the Loya Jirga convenes in Kabul, a nightmare from Afghanistan's past has returned to menace its future

BY BABAK DEHGHANPISHEH AND SAMI YOUSAFZAI

YEARS AFTER DRIVING HIM out of the country, the people of Kabul still know him as "the Vampire." Even by the hellish standards of other Afghan warlords, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's brutality stands out. During the decadelong Soviet occupation, he became possibly the biggest beneficiary of the multibillion-dollar U.S.-Pakistani program to arm the Afghan resistance—although his troops often seemed more interested in ambushing other mujahedin factions than in fighting the Russians. From the Pakistani town of Peshawar, he directed mafia-style hits against more than a dozen rival factions' leaders. His men had a reputation for tortures like igniting gunpowder on the eyeballs of captured enemies. After the Soviet-backed regime fell in 1992, he intensified his war against mujahedin rivals (many of whom would later form the Northern Alliance). At one point they made him prime minister, but he refused to share power. Instead he spent months blasting Kabul into ruins, escaping to Iran before the Taliban rolled over the rubble to power.

Now the Vampire is back, and many Afghans are terrified by the thought of what he might do next. "For Afghanistan now, Hekmatyar is more dangerous than Al Qaeda," says Fazlullah Mojaddadi, the governor of Logar province, a longtime Hekmatyar stronghold. Unlike many of Afghanistan's warlords, Hekmatyar is not expected in Kabul for this week's Loya Jirga, where about 1,500 delegates will choose an interim national government. The notorious Uzbek muscleman Abdul Rashid Dostum will be there, cleanshaven and wearing a spiffy new business suit instead of army fatigues, deciding Afghanistan's future with dozens of other unlikely democrats. They campaigned hard—and not often fairly—for seats in the Loya Jirga. Now international observers such as Human Rights Watch are warning that the strong-arm tactics of Hekmatyar and other warlords could sabotage the political process.

Hekmatyar will have to work his mischief from a distance. Right now he has something else to run for—his life. "He's a bad guy, and we want to remove him as a bad influence in Afghanistan," says Len Scensny, a State Department specialist in South Asian affairs. The CIA thought it had Hekmatyar in a Predator drone's cross hairs last month in the mountains of Konar province, but its Hellfire missile managed only to injure a few local farmers who were tending crops at the scene. Last week in Konar, a team of Afghan troops and U.S. Special Forces missed him again, according to Mohammed Ismael, a provincial intelligence officer, who says members of Hekmatyar's 200-man entourage were later seen in Alingar, a town in neighboring Laghman province. "[Hekmatyar is] in

PROMISING A GRAVEYARD: Days after September 11, Hekmatyar (below) was warning U.S. troops (right) to stay away

After genteel exile in Iran, he's said to be loose with hundreds of armed men

worse shape than Osama bin Laden," says Ziauddin, a senior Afghan intelligence official (like many of his countrymen, he uses only one name). "He changes his location every five minutes."

Since leaving Iran in February, Hekmatyar has popped up everywhere—or so people say. Afghan intelligence tracked him from Quetta across southern Afghanistan before losing him in the tribal areas of Pakistan. A technician from Gardez even claims to have seen him in the caves of Shahikot during Operation Anaconda. No one knows exactly where he is or what he's up to. Persistent rumors say the warlord wants to join forces with Taliban fighters against their mutual enemies in the Northern Alliance and the West. Officials from the Afghan National Intelligence Service go further yet, claiming that Mullah Omar met with Hekmatyar in Quetta in February and appointed him to lead a new movement of Taliban and Qaeda members under the name Nohzat-al-Fath (Party of Victory). The group's alleged aim is to infiltrate the government and carry out terrorist attacks against foreigners in Afghanistan.

Sources in Pakistan question whether the Taliban or anyone else would team up with someone as "unreliable and unprincipled" as Hekmatyar. "Hekmatyar's time has come and gone," says a well-informed Pakistani analyst in Peshawar. "Now he's just a marginal player and can't pose a real threat to anyone." Still, someone must be paying Hekmatyar's expenses. He spent his years of Iranian exile living in genteel comfort in one of Tehran's most exclusive neighborhoods. Now he's said to be traveling around Afghanistan with several hundred armed men. Maulavi Tara Kheil, an Afghan cleric who lived with Hekmatyar in Tehran, says at least some of the money is coming from wealthy Saudi businessmen.

Few observers think Hekmatyar has enough popular support to threaten the Afghan government directly. But no one doubts that he could cause real problems. "Hekmatyar's only goal is to create a power vacuum through acts of terrorism," says Wahidullah Sabahoun, a former member of the warlord's old Hizb-i-Islami faction. Hekmatyar talked to NEWSWEEK about the prospect of an American invasion a few days after September 11. "We'll make Afghanistan the graveyard of those who want to occupy it," he warned. The worst part is, he would feel right at home.

With RON MOREAU and ZAHID HUSSAIN in Islamabad, COLIN SOLOWAY in Washington, MAZIAR BAHARI in Tehran and SAM SEIBERT

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REUTERS (LEFT), SCOTT NELSON—GETTY IMAGES (ABOVE)

A Secret Army's Vow

In clandestine meetings with NEWSWEEK, Pakistani extremists say attacks in Indian-held Kashmir will continue

GARY KNIGHT—VII FOR NEWSWEEK

WILLING TO DIE: Identification cards and photographs of Pakistani militants killed by Indian forces in disputed Kashmir

BY ZAHID HUSSAIN AND RON MOREAU

THE PAKISTANI GUERRILLA commander is thin, soft-spoken and ever so polite. So when Pakistani military officers invited him to an emergency meeting two weeks ago, he showed up as requested, even though he suspected that he might not like what he heard. The guerrilla, whom we'll call Atif, directs several hundred fighters who operate deep in Indian-held Kashmir. He was one of some two dozen Kashmiri commanders invited to the meeting, held at a Pakistani Army base 25 miles from the front lines.

The mood grew tense, Atif says, as soon as a major general from the powerful Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency began speaking. "We don't have a choice, given the tremendous pressure on Pakistan," the ISI man said, almost apologetically. "So you are ordered to stop immediately all cross-border operations." Several of the guerrilla commanders jumped to their feet, thundering that Pakistan shouldn't cave to Indian threats. They denounced President Pervez Musharraf by name, Atif recalls. "After ditching the Taliban, Musharraf has now betrayed the Kashmiri cause," shouted one commander. "How can we accept this?" Anger swept the room, and all the commanders stalked out without accepting the general's invitation to join him for a meal.

Musharraf seems to be getting serious, at last, about preventing cross-border attacks on Indian soldiers and civilians. The reason is simple. Kashmiri militants, with their spectacular suicide attacks on the Indian Parliament in December and an Indian Army base on May 14, have brought the world closer to nuclear war than perhaps at any time in 40 years. India and Pakistan have a million troops on their common border, and much of the world is worried. A procession of top-level diplomats has passed through (Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld will make his appearance this week). They've all pressed Musharraf, in particular, to stop the brinkmanship.

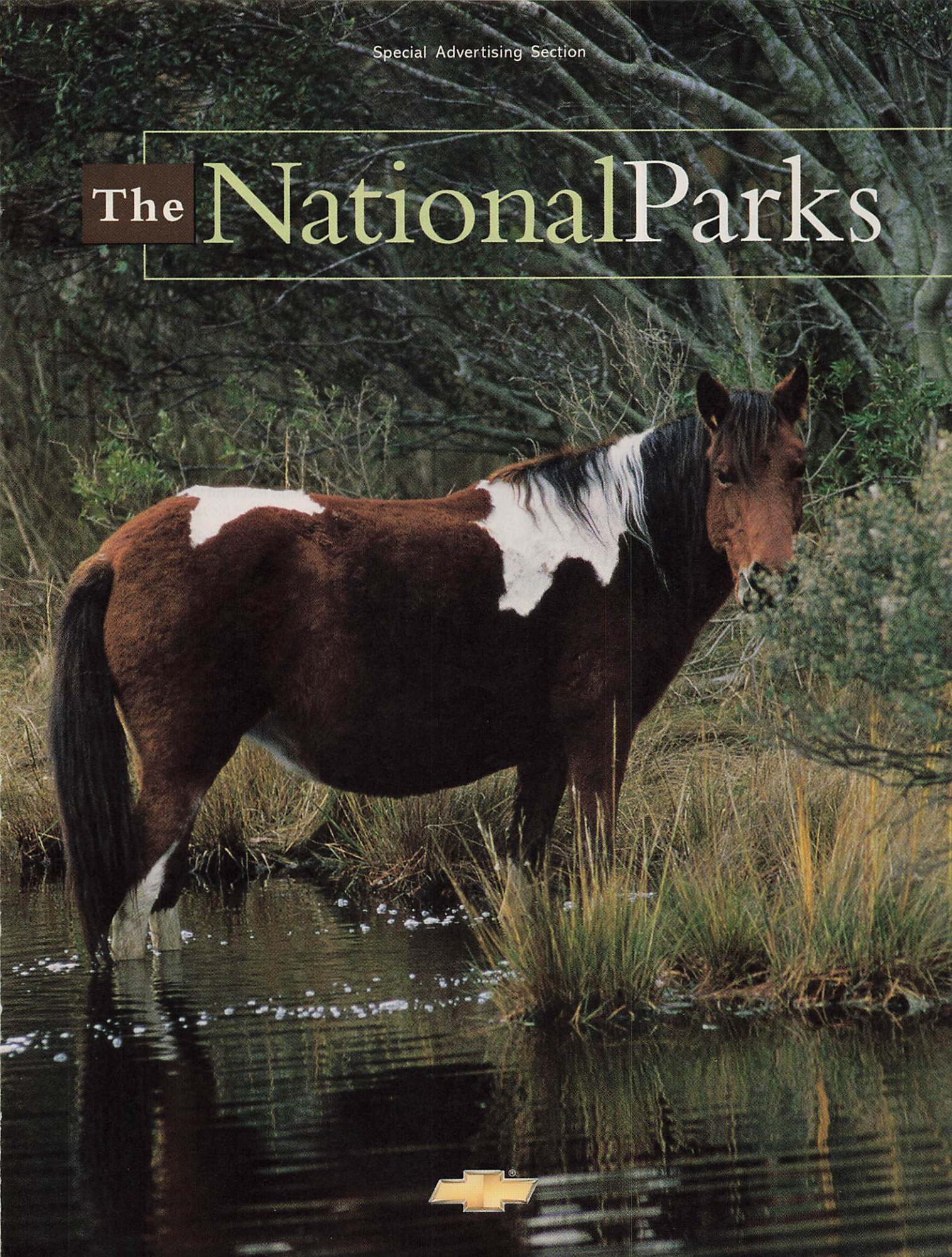
But even if Musharraf is sincere about halting incursions, can he enforce his will? "There could be renegades from these militant groups who can't really be stopped regardless of the tremendous obstacles they face," says Talat Masood, a retired Pakistani Army lieutenant general. Many of the commanders who stormed out of the recent meeting with the ISI general said they would soon meet with their fighters to discuss the infiltration ban. A commander we'll call Irfan, of the radical Harkat ul-Mujahedin group, claims that hundreds of his men have been waiting impatiently for orders to infiltrate into Indian-held territory. (NEWSWEEK met clandestinely with the guerrillas, and none wanted their names used.) "Our volunteers are becoming increasingly upset over the long delay," says Irfan.

Commanders like Atif and Irfan are sizing up their chances of defying the ban, and seem to like the odds. First, they know how to work covertly. Even though their offices have been closed and their bank accounts frozen, they continue to get funding, they say. Nor is acquiring weapons a problem. "What do we need to fight? Not much," says another commander. "Hand grenades and Kalashnikovs are available everywhere." They also know the lay of the land better than anyone. "Our men manage to sneak past the Indians, so how can the Pakistanis stop us?" says Irfan.

Atif claims there are between 1,200 and 1,500 Pakistani militants already inside Kashmir. "Many of our men are stuck across the line," says Irfan. As a result, he believes, some of these men may step up attacks on their own. "If they can't come home, they've got nothing to lose." And the militants inside Pakistan could eventually target Musharraf. If the president "keeps pressuring the militants while India maintains this aggressive posture, then Musharraf could be finished," says General Masood. As it is, presidential security has been tightened. Musharraf's movements are kept secret and his travel route frequently changed at the last minute. The Kashmiri commanders have few such worries. "We will continue to fight," says Atif. "God always creates ways for us." ■

Special Advertising Section

The National Parks



~From Sea to Shining Sea~

The founding of the **National Park System**, it has been said, is among the best ideas America ever had. The 80-million-acre federal estate is vast in size and scope, spanning the whole of our country—from the far reaches of the Pacific Ocean's Hawaii Volcanoes National Park and the Gates of the Arctic National Park in the Alaska tundra to Acadia National Park in the rugged Atlantic coastal area of Maine and the Dry Tortugas National Park in the Florida Straits.

WITHIN THE SYSTEM'S EMBRACE is the **Statue of Liberty**, that great beacon of freedom in New York Harbor, whose torch now perhaps projects even more illumination and meaning than ever before.

Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton, who oversees the 400 federal parks, talking about the tragedies of 9/11 and the necessity for mending, recovery and rebound, said, "What better places to begin the healing process than in our parks, where Americans can draw strength from national icons of freedom—and peace from the splendors of nature."

It is indeed reassuring that these national parks—which bring so many benefits: unity, inspiration, morale, and health and welfare—belong to this and future generations of Americans.

It also is important to know that all parks and recreation areas are essential to our solace and solidarity. T. Destry Jarvis, executive director of the nonprofit National Recreation and Parks Association, noted that in the weeks after the terrorist attacks, visits to local parks and recreation facilities soared—and that pace continues.

Statue of Liberty (left), young beaver (above), bald eagle (top).

"The use of these [public places] is part of a healthy response to the uncertainties of our time—whether people want to relieve stress through physical activity, find inspiration in the beauty of nature or simply reach out to others in their community," Mr. Jarvis said.

In a 2001 report of the National Park System Advisory Board, "*Rethinking the National Parks for the 21st Century*," it was pointed out that the creation of a national park is an expression of faith in the future. "It is a pact between generations, a promise from the past to the future.... National parks are greatly admired. Inspiring us, uplifting our spirits, they serve as powerful reminders of our national origins and destiny."

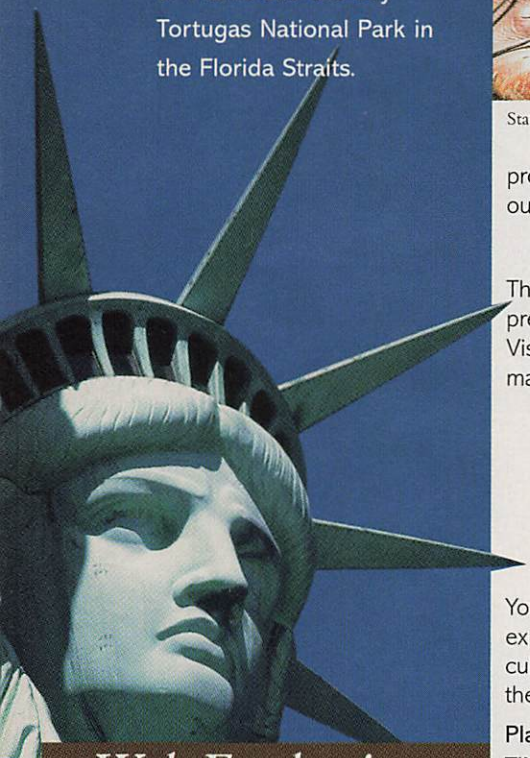
"LEAVE ONLY FOOTPRINTS...TAKE ONLY MEMORIES"

This great country is blessed with an abundance of recreational opportunities offered on precious public land, both national and local. Every state has a site to match your preferences. Visitors need only explore, experience, enjoy—and leave them unimpaired. Be responsible for maintaining a healthy and clean environment.

- ~ We must ensure that these special places of recreation, respite and retreat are preserved and protected for the use and enjoyment of all our citizens and visitors, now and in the years to come. Whatever you pack in—take back. Don't leave it along the trail.
- ~ We must be environmentally concerned for all the natural and cultural resources, and for all the creatures that make up these national and public parks, forests and wildlife refuges. Do not feed, disturb or harass the wildlife.

You can become an environmentally responsible tourist and truly have more enjoyment in your explorations in the great American outdoors. Remember that all park systems are natural and cultural storehouses that increase and disseminate knowledge and experiences that bind us to the past as well as to the present.

Plan your trip carefully, pack wisely, treat these special places with respect, and HAVE THE TIME OF YOUR LIFE! Five of these Special Places are featured on the following pages.



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Cover photo of Wild Pony, Assateague/Chincoteague Islands: Rob & Ann Simpson. Photos from left: Norman Owen Tomalin, Erwin & Peggy Bauer/Bruce Coleman Inc., Lynn Stone/Animals Animals.
Ilene Silver/Art Director

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The Smokies~
Bountiful Biodiversity in the Mountain Mist

The National Parks

SINCE ITS CREATION MORE THAN 70 YEARS AGO, **The Great Smoky Mountains National Park**—an 800-square-mile protected landscape embracing parts of North Carolina and Tennessee—has hosted tens of millions of visitors who appreciate camping and hiking, scenic driving, down-home culture, Native American heritage and a plethora of natural wonders.

Biodiversity is the hallmark of *"The Smokies,"* which contain the most varied plant and animal resources of any federal reserve. These ancient peaks in the southern Appalachian highlands are said to be at least 200 million years old and home to more than 100,000 exquisite species of flora and fauna—only a small percentage of which have been identified.

Joe McDonald/Animals Animals

The national park has become the focal point of a unique science and education partnership, **"Discover Life in America,"** formed to collect and disseminate information on the occurrences and natural history of all the plants and wildlife of the Smokies, a comprehensive 15-year challenge that has never been attempted before—anywhere in the world.

Visitors, meanwhile, can just go on enjoying the beauty of these Great Smoky Mountains—shaded by more than 100 different kinds of trees, blanketed by more than 1,200 different flowering plants—a vast wild and natural habitat for some 1,800 black bears. There are at least 60 different species of native mammals and more than 200 species of birds in the Smokies.

A & S Carey/Masterfile

Black Bear with cub (above), Swallowtail Tiger Butterfly (left).

SCENIC DRIVING AND HIKING

Some of the centerpieces of the Smokies experience can be found along one of the park's 150 identified trails. The always-accessible Appalachian Trail, the longest national park, runs nearly the length and breadth of the Smokies, offering panoramic vistas. There are marked trails for walkers/hikers to seven beautiful waterfalls—among them a paved route to Laurel Falls.

CAMPGROUNDS

Each of the park's 10 campgrounds has running water, flush toilets, fire grates and picnic tables. Set up in strategic and scenic locations, they deserve five-star ratings.

Be Alert: These areas are also popular with bears and other wildlife. (Be mindful that a heavy fine is imposed for picking plants or feeding wildlife, and please dispose of your garbage properly.)

The park's crack maintenance crews ensure that the more than 270 miles of roadway are always in suitable condition scenic driving along uninterrupted forest stretching to the horizon, like the serpentile *Clingman's Dome Road*, which goes to the highest peak (6,643 feet) in the Smokies. An observation tower on the mountain summit offers spectacular views. Mindful of the park's 20,000 cultural artifacts are on exhibition at identified locations

OnStar TRAVELER'S TIP: Make it a point to add the nearby Cherokee Indian Reservation (Eastern Band) to your Smokies travel itinerary. Programs and museums provide visitors an "up close and personal" look at Native American culture and traditions.

CONTACT: Superintendent, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 107 Park Headquarters Road, Gatlinburg, Tenn. 37738-4102. Phone: 865-436-1271 or visit www.nps.gov.

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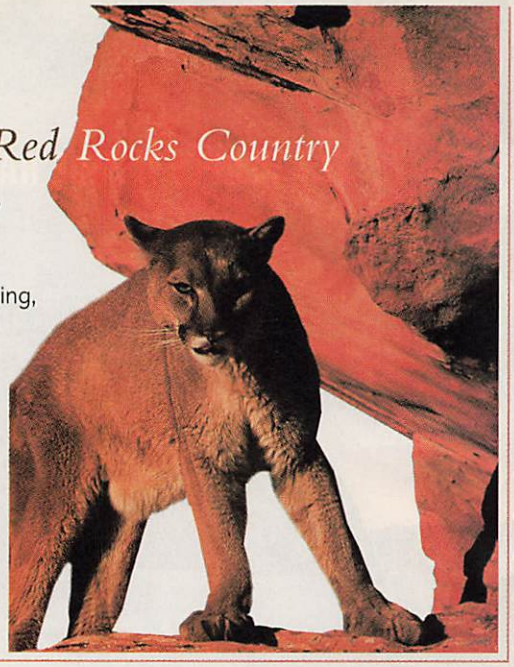
Capitol Reef ~ *Utah's Green Peaks and Red Rocks Country*



Erwin & Peggy Bauer/Bruce Coleman Inc.

THE GLORIOUS SOUTH-CENTRAL UTAH REGION in which Capitol Reef National Park is situated was described by the ancient Navajo Indians as **"Land of the Sleeping Rainbow"**—undoubtedly for its multicolored cliffs, massive domes, winding canyons and high-rising stone spires and monoliths.

This magnificent canyon country was welcomed into the national park system in the 1930s—headed by the *Waterpocket Fold*, a gargantuan buckling of rock in the earth's crust, still curving for 100 miles in rugged splendor after its creation 65 million years ago! The dome-shaped white-cap boulder in the uplift of sandstone cliffs with highly colored sedimentary layers never strain the eyes. Check with the rangers for a guide to the Scenic Drive—a paved 25-mile round trip that offers a real close-up of the *Waterpocket Fold* and surrounding landscape with its share of slick-rock wilderness.

Art Wolfe/The Image Bank, National Park Service (top)

Cougar (top right), Pendleton Barn, Fruita (top), American Badger (above).

Capitol Reef is the lesser-known of Utah's large contingent of national parks, arguably the most spectacular in the federal system, but it is a true gem and provides one of the best outdoor visits for those seeking stunning recreation and heavy doses of natural and cultural history.

The national park abounds with archaeological evidence of an intriguing, but not organized, Puebloid culture whose inhabitants lived in the Fremont River valley as far back as 700 A.D. Other cultural resources in the park include the one-room Fruita Schoolhouse, whose first class was held in 1892; the Morrell Cabin, reflecting a ranching heritage that began more than 80 years ago in Cathedral Valley; and the Gifford Homestead, originally built in 1908 to serve farming interests, now the site for living-history demonstrations in quilting and weaving, and an excellent sales outlet for items reminiscent of that Mormon pioneer era.

Then there are the well-managed **Orchards of Capitol Reef**, featuring 3,000 apple, apricot, cherry, peach and pear trees, with a small sprinkling of plum. Visitors can eat as much ripe fruit as they desire while in the orchard until the harvest begins, but a fee is charged for picking and removing any of these tasty morsels.

Capitol Reef has a fine nature center, the Ripple Rock, very near the visitor center. That same general area offers shaded picnic grounds with grills, drinking water and restrooms. Hiking is excellent along established routes on scenic Highway 24.

Camping is a treat in this beautiful landscape: 71 sites in the first-come, first-served Fruita Campground, featuring picnic tables, water, restrooms and an RV dump station. Bring your own water to the primitive free campgrounds at Cathedral Valley and Cedar Mesa. **Cathedral Valley** is a must-see, whether or not camping is on the agenda. Here in an open valley, massive weathered rock monoliths rise from the flat desert floors. Talk to the rangers about Cathedral Valley's unpaved, looped Backway, a truly adventurous and superlative auto drive.

A number of spectacular driving routes offering sweeping panoramic vistas are also located in the south-central neighborhood of the park. Check with the folks at the Wayne County Travel Council (1-800-858-7951) for details on U.S. Highways 12 and 14 *Scenic Byways* and for the Fishlake *Scenic Byway*.

Capitol Reef has a **diverse wildlife population**, some rarely seen, like the black bear and the mountain lion; others spotted with frequency include bobcat, coyote, badger, red and gray fox, mink, muskrat and beaver in the Fremont River and Halls Creek. Anglers: Brown trout thrive in the Fremont River!

TRAVELER'S TIP: A number of towns offer good services to tourists and travelers in this part of Utah. Stop in Teasdale and have the Wayne County Travel Council advise you on treks to Thousand Lakes Mountain, Calf Creek's 125-foot cascading falls, Goblin Valley, and the Henry Mountains (for a free-roaming herd of Buffalo). Torrey (park headquarters) and Hanksville also offer a host of services and facilities.

CONTACT: Superintendent, Capitol Reef National Park, H.C. 70, Box 15, Torrey, Ut. 84775.
Phone: 435-425-3791 or visit www.nps.gov.

All maps: Alex Reardon

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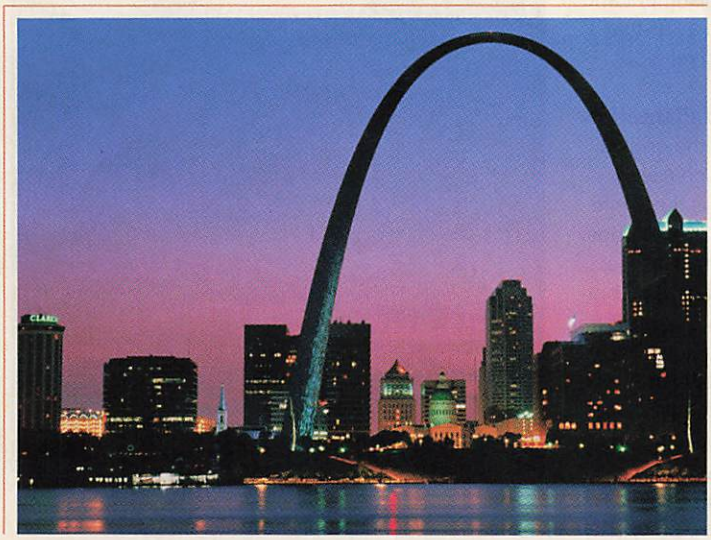
Siting Jefferson's Westward Expansion



Dave Jacobs/Stone Images

Jefferson National Expansion Memorial and St. Louis, Mo. skyline at dusk.

PRESIDENT THOMAS JEFFERSON'S FORESIGHT in signing a $15 million land deal with France sparked mass emigration across the continent by doubling the size of the country and forging a new frontier.

The Village of St. Louis became the crossroads for the big push by pioneers traversing the Great Plains and beyond to the gold fields opened up by the Louisiana Purchase explorations of Lewis and Clark.

Today, the City of St. Louis, Mo., hosts a grand commemoration, the **Jefferson National Expansion Memorial**, to the third president's vision and to the men and women who broadened the boundaries of a growing United States.

The 630-foot stainless steel *Gateway Arch* dominates the 90-acre park—indeed, the skyline—of the city and the region. Visitors can ascend architect Eero Saarinen's "poetic conquest" of space, thanks to an amazing system of trams (one in each "leg") whose passenger capsules are leveled by electric motors on the four-minute ride to the top.

Located at the bottom of the Arch is the **Museum of Westward Expansion**, arguably the finest exhibition center in the National Park System, certainly the largest, with dimensions roughly those of a football field. Besides displaying extensive collections of artifacts and mounted animal specimens, the museum re-creates the Lewis and Clark expeditions.

Visitors get to hear Thomas Jefferson "talk," see the Prairie Schooner, a covered wagon that carried pioneers on overland treks of as many as 15 miles a day; the oxen-pulled Spanish *carreta*, a rugged cart perfect for deeply grooved trails; the leaky Sod House, cool in the summer and easy to keep warm in the winter. Also represented are the roles of American Indians, explorers, soldiers and cowboys, farmers and miners, buffalo hunters and trappers, and famed legendary mountain men like Kit Carson.

The Old Courthouse is also part of Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. More than a 150 years old, it was the site of the historic Dred Scott case, where a slave sued for his freedom and ultimately lost in the U.S. Supreme Court—and hastened the Civil War by further inflaming Northern and Southern passions. Today, visitors (including children) can re-enact historic cases in two restored courtrooms.

OnStar TRAVELER'S TIP: Plan time to tour the fine **City of St. Louis** and surrounding areas. Among the many outstanding points of interest are the Anheuser-Busch Brewery, Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site, Laumeier Sculpture Park, Missouri Botanical Garden (the nation's oldest) and the St. Louis Art Museum.

CONTACT: Superintendent, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, 11 North Fourth Street, St. Louis, Mo. 63102-1882. Phone: 314-655-1700 or visit www.nps.gov.

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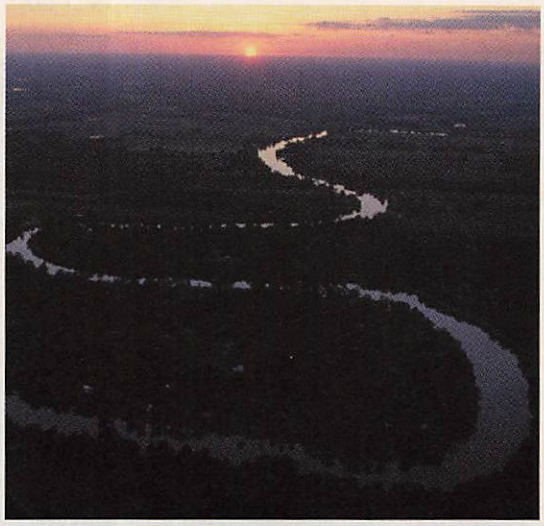
Cane River ~ *Honoring Louisiana's Creole Community Heritage*

HISTORY AND CULTURE ARE PLENTIFUL IN LOUISIANA, and the National Park System—with its Jean Lafitte National Historical Park and Preserve and the New Orleans Jazz National Historical Park—definitely has its share. Now you can add the **Cane River Creole National Historical Park**, about 75 miles southeast of Shreveport. It includes magnificent landscapes and sites along that famous water route in Natchitoches Parish, the oldest permanent settlement in the Louisiana Purchase Territory.

National Park Service



Philip Gould

Oakland Plantation Main House (above), Louisiana's Timeless Cane River (top right), Bigleaf Magnolia (bottom).

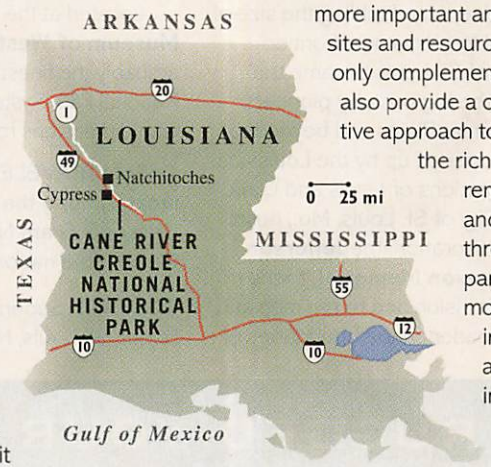
Two splendid properties are situated within the boundaries of the new park: *the Oakland Plantation and the outbuildings of Magnolia Plantation*. These sites, says Park Superintendent Laura Gates, "were cotton plantations and the only two bicentennial farms west of the Mississippi River that remained in the hands of the original families from land grant until public acquisition. They have the best collections of French Creole plantation architecture to be found anywhere."

No exaggeration. Indeed, the majority of outbuildings still stand at both Oakland and Magnolia, which is unusual for any historic plantation. From these sites—classic Creole, with roots in African and medieval French Architecture—tourists will get an understanding of colonization and frontier influences, slavery and tenancy labor, and some insight into how social practices have evolved over 200 years.

The self-sufficient people of the Cane River community have a rich history of accomplishment and determination, and a lifestyle anchored by strong religious beliefs to match.

At the **Oakland Plantation**, which remained in the original Creole family through seven generations, there is the entire remaining core of 29 buildings, ranging from the main house, built in 1821, and an 1835 bottle garden and intact agricultural fields, to numerous outbuildings that are spread over almost 44 acres—including the plantation store, *pigeonniers*, a large seed house, workshops, a huge log corn crib (with roof), a mule barn that once was a smokehouse, the overseer's house, and cabins.

The Magnolia complex features 16 outbuildings and "dependencies," among which are a slave hospital, a plantation store, a blacksmith shop, two rows of brick quarters that formed a slave village, and a gin barn that shelters an invaluable cotton press and two types of cotton gin. Adjacent to the complex is the original main house, now privately owned and open daily, comprising 27 rooms and a chapel. Needless to say, the Magnolia landscape is dotted with the fragrant trees for which it is named.



The new park is also a unit of the more encompassing ***Cane River National Heritage Area***, an expanse that, before becoming part of the United States, was at the intersection of the Spanish and French realms in the New World, giving rise to the Creole culture in a rural setting. The heritage area includes other plantations in addition to *Oakland* and *Magnolia*, one of which is the beautiful *Melrose*. Privately owned, it dates back to 1796 and has nine buildings, including the Big House, on its sprawling grounds, well known to artists, writers and historians. It is open daily.

Also within the national heritage area, composed mostly of privately owned lands and administered by a commission of Cane River community leaders, are many more important and significant sites and resources that not only complement the park, but also provide a culturally sensitive approach to preserving the rich history of this remarkable region and its people through local partnerships. Get more detailed information and advice on touring the area by calling 318-356-5555.

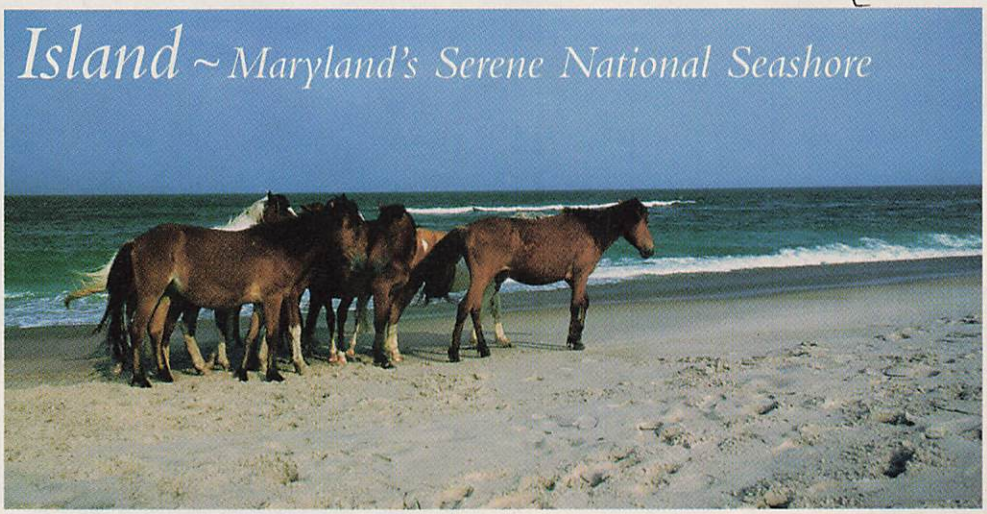
TRAVELER'S TIP: The nearly 300-year-old City of Natchitoches is the hub of Louisiana's Creole country and headquarters for both the national historical park and the national heritage area. Get your treks started in this magnificent place, whose 33-block historic landmark district fronts Cane River Lake and features homes, churches and commercial structures in a mix of Queen Anne and Victorian architecture, and those Creole-style cottages.

CONTACT: Superintendent, Cane River Creole National Historical Park, 400 Rapides Drive, Natchitoches, La. 71457. Phone: 318-352-0383 or visit www.nps.gov.

C.C. Lockwood/Earth Sciences (Bigleaf Magnolia)

Assateague Island ~ Maryland's Serene National Seashore

HORSES HAVE BEEN ON ASSATEAGUE ISLAND since at least the 17th century, adapting beautifully to this Atlantic Ocean haven along Maryland's Eastern Shore. Today's shaggy, sturdy herd of under 150, called "ponies," roaming free and wild on this serene natural area, are descended from those small, domestic colonial-era horses.



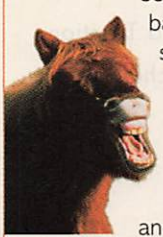
Nellaine Price/Bruce Coleman Inc.

Assateague Island National Seashore Ponies.

In bands of two to 10 ponies, the wild herd can be seen just about anywhere on **Assateague Island National Seashore**, grazing on salt marsh cordgrass and beach grass, also snacking on thorny greenbrier stems, bayberry twigs and sea grass; or washing down the salty food with fresh water from area ponds.

Keep a distance and don't feed them, or any other wildlife, for that matter. It is unhealthy—and illegal. The *National Park Service* keeps the herd in excellent condition, so just enjoy watching or photographing them doing their thing—often joining with the white, long-legged egret in fighting off flies and ticks; or sometimes in dazzling displays of rearing, biting and kicking when stallions "battle" over mares.

The 37-mile barrier island is also home to sika deer, red fox, raccoons—44 species of mammals in all. Bottlenose dolphins are often seen in the surf during the summer months. While most of the national seashore's visitors come to bask in the sun along the scenic beaches or swim in the ocean, *surf fishing* is immensely popular here, as well, no matter what the season. Check with the rangers for rules, regulations and equipment tips. There are numerous species in the surf, including summer flounder, kingfish, spot, Atlantic croaker, striped bass, bluefish and sharks, the latter caught in late spring, summer or early fall, with cut bait or squid used as lures. Shellfishing, especially for the cunning blue crab in late summer, is a lot of fun and a little work.



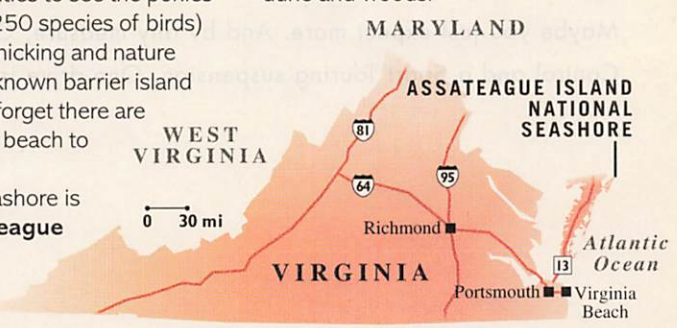
FUN FACT: ***No different than humans in one regard—all of Assateague's wild horses in a group will yawn if one pony begins this "contagious" behavior.***

Many of Assateague's visitors come to the national seashore to mix sand and surf experiences with camping at either *Oceanside* or *Bayside*, both of which offer drive-in pads for tents, trailers and recreational vehicles year-round (call 1-800-365-CAMP for reservations). Backcountry enthusiasts can hike in or paddle in to campsites tucked away on a first-come, first-serve basis.

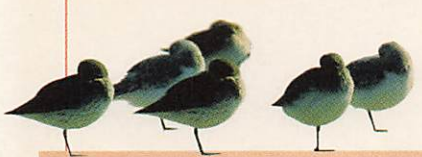
Scenic driving around the 40,000-acre park on paved roadway is a pleasant pastime, with opportunities to see the ponies and other wildlife (250 species of birds) during stops for picnicking and nature walking into lesser known barrier island habitats. And don't forget there are miles upon miles of beach to walk.

The national seashore is flanked by **Chincoteague National Wildlife Refuge** on the Virginia side of the bisected barrier island and by Maryland's **Assateague State Park** on the other. The latter is a fine 700-acre lifeguarded beach, with separate sections for swimming, surf fishing and surfboarding. Bathhouses, a bait and tackle shop, and a snack bar (amenities the national park does not have) are open during the summer months. The park's campgrounds offer hot-water facilities, and electric hookups at 32 sites.

Chincoteague is famous for both its beauty and diversity of wildlife (including 150 ponies, too). During the fall, for example, more than 12,000 snow and Canada geese, dabbling ducks and brant make the scenic sanctuary a resting place. In fact, there are more than 300 species of wildfowl that come and go, to and from, this 15,000-acre natural setting of marsh, dune and woods.

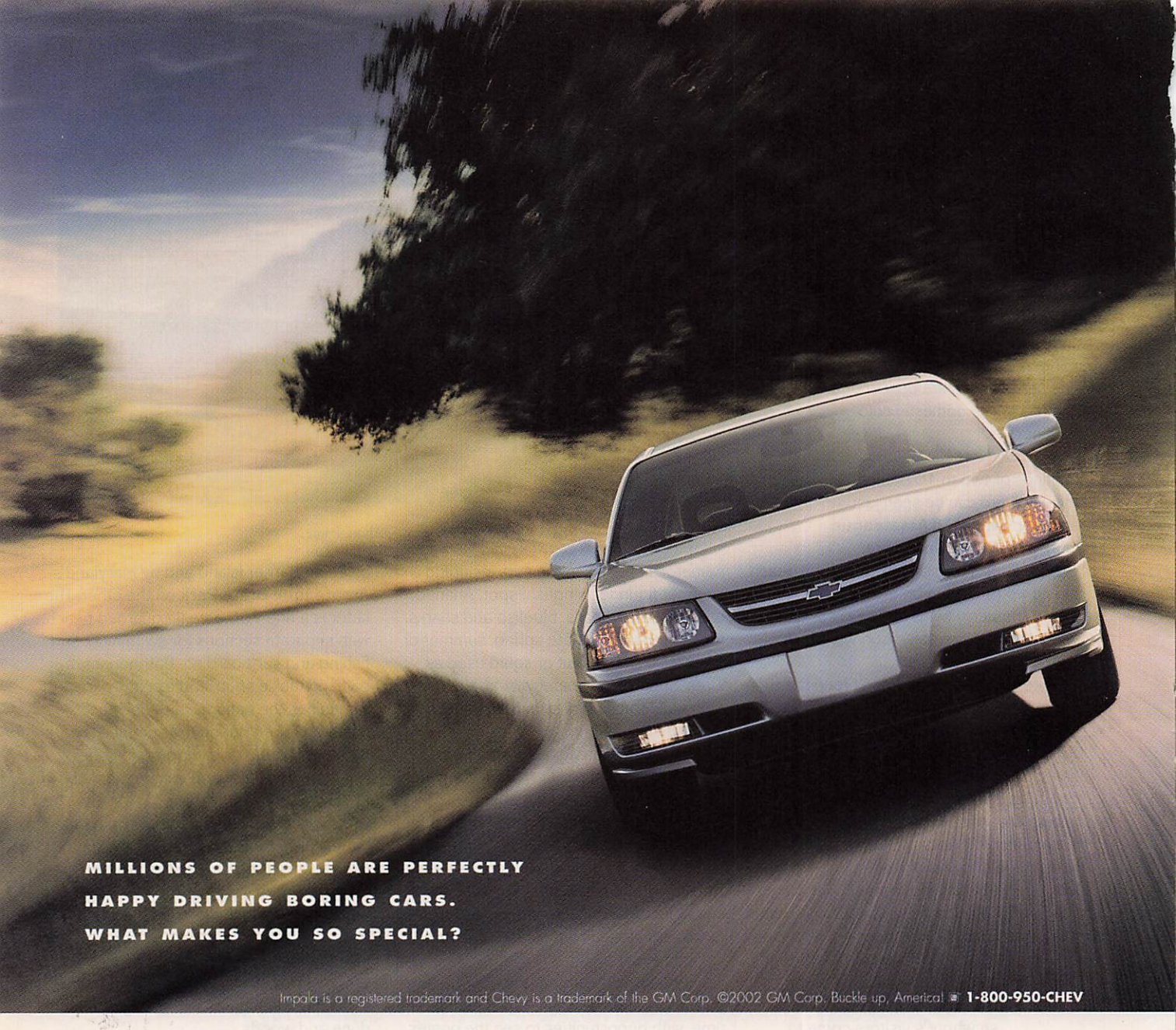


TRAVELER'S TIP: Visitors to the national seashore and national refuge can mix that serene, natural experience with the lively atmosphere and activities of nearby Ocean City, Md., one of the eastern seaboard's best summer beach resorts. Also in the general neighborhood—along with Berlin, Snow Hill and other welcoming towns—is the city of Salisbury, home to a small but excellent zoo and minor league baseball played in an excellent stadium.



CONTACT: Superintendent, Assateague Island National Seashore, 7206 National Seashore Lane, Berlin, Md. 21811. Phone: 410-641-1441 or visit www.nps.gov.

Rob & Ann Simpson (Pony), National Park Service (Birds)



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Turn Swords Into Ballots

LAST WEEK'S GRUESOME TERROR ATTACKS IN ISRAEL MADE painfully clear that Ariel Sharon's invasion of the West Bank failed in its principal mission—to produce greater security for Israel. The military strikes, confiscation of arms caches and rounding up of suspects seem to have slowed things down for all of three weeks. But the invasion does seem to have had one important, perhaps unintended effect. In its wake, Palestinians have embraced calls for political reform with unprecedented vigor. And they have done so despite the fact that these calls have come from Ariel Sharon and George W. Bush, neither of whom they regard as friends or well-wishers.

Most Palestinians are fed up with Yasir Arafat, and have been clamoring for democracy for years. But Israel's invasion stunned them into seeing just how weak, ineffective and fragile their government is. The Palestinian Authority, with its competing militias, corrupt bosses and nonexistent services, was tested in crisis—and it crashed. Arafat's popularity surged briefly, but within weeks he was back to his pre-invasion numbers, a measly 35 percent.

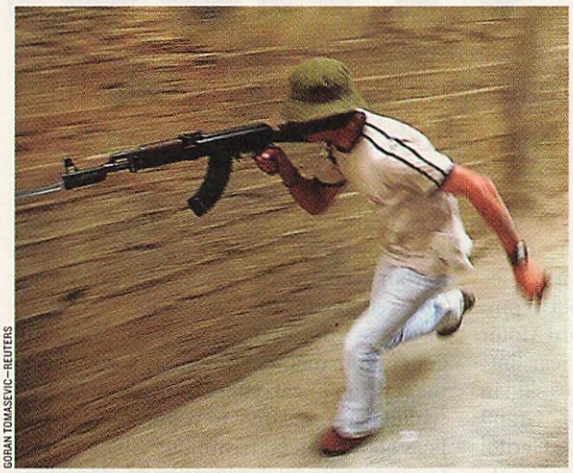
President Bush is right to call for a more open, democratic and law-abiding Palestinian Authority. But this strategy will work only if pursued in combination with a serious peace process, not as a substitute for it. Reform without substantive political negotiations could actually be deadly. It will bring into power—democratically, legitimately—the most radical and violent elements within the Palestinian population.

When urging democracy for the Palestinians, it is easy to forget that the forces of opposition to Yasir Arafat and his cronies—the forces of democracy—are often much harder-line than Arafat in their attitudes toward Israel. The younger guard of the Palestinian nationalist movement, men like Marwan Barghouti, urge a tougher negotiating position on almost every issue in the peace process. They criticize Arafat for two things: corruption and accommodation toward Israel. It is true, for instance, that Arafat could not enter Jenin after the Israeli invasion. But that was largely because the crowds were enraged by the concessions he made to Israel in order to get out of his imprisonment in Ramallah.

Empowering radicals could be good. Once in office, they will have to tackle reality rather than spin fantasies. They will have to clean the streets, deliver social services and engage in the peace process. That is, if there is a peace process.

For Ariel Sharon, reform is a substitute for the peace process. Talk about reform means that he doesn't need to talk about dismantling settlements, giving up land and recognizing a Palestinian state—all of which are politically difficult and none of which he will do unless pressed. Reform for Sharon means the installation of a friendly and compliant alternative to Arafat. He tried this strategy in 1981 with the Palestinian Village Leagues, he tried it in Lebanon when he installed the Phalangist militia (of Sabra and Shatila fame). That both experiments failed miserably does not seem to deter him from trying again. Reform for Sharon is spelled D-E-L-A-Y.

But without a clear pathway toward a Palestinian state, the violence will continue and younger Palestinian leaders will get only more radicalized. Without negotiations that would force them to be responsible, they will take increasingly extreme positions. Eventually they will likely be replaced by Islamic fundamentalists. Khalil Shikaki, the preeminent Palestinian pollster and analyst, explains that over the past few years extreme religious groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad have been gaining ground. "Under normal conditions, they cannot get more than 10 or 15 percent support. But they do well when the peace process breaks down, when violence grows and when people lose hope," he says. During this *intifada,* popular support for them has grown 50 percent. "If they replace the traditional nationalist movement, then things could get very nasty. These groups will never deal with Israel. They will keep fighting."



GORAN TOMASEVIC—REUTERS

NEW GENERATION: A Palestinian gunman runs to battle

Yasir Arafat's Palestinian Authority, with its many competing militias and corrupt bosses, was tested in crisis—and it crashed

And the war will only get deadlier. One of the scariest outcomes of the April invasion is that since then some Palestinian groups have been attempting not simply terror but megaterror; note the recent attempts to blow up gas plants and use cyanide. "This is the moment for the United States to act," says Shikaki, "while there is still time. If the violence continues, the majority of Israelis and Palestinians will support more and more extreme solutions." Waiting, watching, delaying and dithering will only ensure that terrorists drive events rather than leaders.

Palestinian democracy is a good idea. But let's make sure it is democracy in the service of peace, not war.

E-mail to zakaria@newsweek.com.

Another Ford Behind The Wheel

Henry Ford's great-great-granddaughter says she has gasoline in her veins. Now she has a chance to prove it.

BY KEITH NAUGHTON

THE LIGHTS COME UP IN A warm, windowless conference room, and Elena Ford is not happy. As brand manager for Ford Motor Co.'s struggling Mercury car line, she is trying to reverse a serious sales skid in its most profitable model: the Grand Marquis, a big cruiser favored by the Geritol set. On this day at Mercury's Irvine, Calif., headquarters, the ad agency is previewing a new Grand Marquis commercial. But Ford is jarred by the ad's opening image of the conservative car towing a motorcycle. "Our target customer is unlikely to drive a motorcycle," she says, noting that she raised this objection before. Now it's too late to change, and she's clearly annoyed. A well-groomed adman counters that their research "index" finds Grand Marquis drivers "show a 100 percent propensity for buying motorcycles." She cuts him off. "I really don't care where it indexes. It just doesn't fit. They're 70 years old, and they're not driving motorcycles."

This tough talk isn't coming from just any middle manager. Elena Ford is one of *those* Fords, as in Henry Ford's great-great-granddaughter. A century after Henry rolled his first Model T down the assembly line, the Fords remain one of the great dynasties in corporate America. Like Kennedys of industry, each generation of the billionaire Ford clan enters the family business. And they've managed to keep a firm grip on the wheel of the world's No. 2 automaker. (Just ask ex-CEO Jacques Nasser, bounced last year by chairman Bill Ford Jr., who became the fourth generation to run the family firm.) Yet it isn't always easy being a Ford at Ford, where the hired help can harbor resentment over a career fast track reserved just for the family.

Elena—the first female Ford and fifth-generation member on the payroll—faces the tension of carrying on the family legacy while being sensitive to water-cooler whispers about special treatment. She has tried to overcome any doubters by working long hours in unglamorous marketing jobs in her first seven years at the company. But Elena has the Ford ambition: she's gunning for a seat on the company's board of directors and a top post in marketing, she tells NEWSWEEK. And although she is only 36, she hopes to become a Ford board member in three to five years.

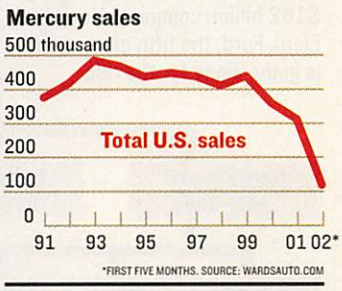
First, though, she has to fix Mercury. With sales off 23 percent this year, the brand is beset with the same aging buyers and lack of cachet that killed Oldsmobile. But Elena, sounding like her gruff granddad Henry Ford II, won't contemplate Mercury's demise. "Not on my watch," she snaps. She's planning to roll out new, crisply designed models in 2004 to go after sophisticated young professionals who drive Volkswagens. But launching a youth movement won't be easy with Grandpa's Grand Marquis parked in the showroom. Elena admits those elderly customers "don't fit perfectly into our strategy," but argues Mercury needs them to help fund the brand's overhaul. The difficulty of this strategy is clear during a meeting in her tidy office overlooking the Saddleback Mountains. A staffer pitches her on a promotion at "upscale, active retirement communities." She doesn't greenlight it, but suggests an alternative: a Mercury Mountaineer road show that piggybacks the publicity tour her mom, manners maven Charlotte Ford, is doing for her new etiquette book. "This is a way to get to our target audience," says Elena, "and my mother sells her book, too."

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL KELLEY FOR NEWSWEEK

OVERDRIVE: Elena Ford has worked for seven years in unglamorous jobs. Now she's stepping out, and wants to move up quickly.

Mercury Rising?

Job 1 for the company's first female Ford: reverse Mercury's falling sales with a hip makeover.



*FIRST FIVE MONTHS. SOURCE: WARDSAUTO.COM

Elena's life and Ford Motor Co. have always intertwined. Though she grew up on New York's tony Upper East Side, she was always interested in the roar of an engine. "I have gasoline in my veins," she says. Before she was 10, Elena was burning rubber astride a Yamaha motorcycle. To accommodate her rough-riding daughter, Charlotte carved out a dirt track on her sprawling estate in Southampton, N.Y., just beyond the ornate front gates and before the tennis courts. "She was a feminine little girl and then all this tomboy came out," marvels Charlotte. A competitive streak also emerged, as she took the wildest jumps on her dirt bike. She had little patience for high society, enduring her debutante ball in a prim, high-necked dress.

Elena's aggressive, sometimes bruising style is a legacy of her doting granddad Henry Ford II. "Elena has more of his qualities than anyone else," says Al Uzielli, her aunt Anne Ford's son. The last of Detroit's auto barons, "Hank the Deuce" is famous for firing Lee Iacocca and lording over Ford for four decades until his death in 1987. To the world, H.F. II was a hard-drinking playboy who lived by the motto "Never complain, never explain." But to Elena, Granddad was "a big mush." As a child, she often visited his Grosse Pointe, Mich., mansion, where they watched James Bond movies and munched popcorn in his basement theater. In the summer Elena joined Granddad on his yacht in the Mediterranean, where she and her cousins performed skits for him, ending their days with raucous family dinners. At 10, Elena decided she wanted to share something else with Granddad—the Ford name. She was born Elena Niarchos, daughter of Greek shipping tycoon Stavros Niarchos. The first of Charlotte's three husbands, Niarchos divorced Charlotte when Elena was only 6 months old. Elena says Niarchos "was never around." So in fifth grade, she legally changed her name to Ford. "Basically, my grandfather was my father," she says.

And like any good father, Henry Ford II got Elena her first car (a blue Mustang) and helped her land her first job. Anxious to get her career started, she dropped out of Boston College after a year and had

Detroit Dynasty

A century after Henry Ford rolled out the Model T, the Ford family still holds the keys to the $162 billion company. Now with Elena Ford, the fifth generation is going along for the ride.

GRAPHIC BY STANFORD KAY—NEWSWEEK

Granddad get her an interview at Ford's ad agency, Wells Rich Greene. Elena saw Madison Avenue as the fastest route to her ultimate goal of working in the family business. But after two years at the ad agency, she hit a roadblock when she called Great-Uncle Bill (Bill Jr.'s father) inquiring about a job at the carmaker. His answer: nothing doing until you finish college. Elena enrolled in New York University, earning a business degree in 1990. But instead of heading directly to Detroit, she got married, had a daughter and opened an upscale baby-gift shop in Southampton. She ran the shop by herself, occasionally with Mom behind the register. After struggling with that for two years and divorcing her first husband, Elena finally called Uncle Edsel in 1995, asking for a job at Ford. "I'll get you the interview," she says he told her, "but you're on your own after that." Soon she was in Detroit, creating truck brochures.

From her first day on the job, Elena faced suspicions that her name was her only qualification. She compensated by logging 12-hour days. "I never want people to say, 'She just got that job because ...'," she says. Breathing life into Mercury is demanding: she commutes weekly between Irvine and her Grosse Pointe home. The brutal pace has her mother worried, particularly now that Elena is remarried and has four young children. "My greatest concern is that these four children don't get left behind," says Charlotte. Elena admits she has "no work-life balance." Her husband, Joe Rippolone, a plumbing contractor, helps fill the parenting void, but she still feels guilty. "It's very nice to have an involved father," she says. "But kids want their mother."

For Elena Ford, though, the tug of family is more complicated. She also feels a responsibility to the family business, which faces its biggest financial crisis in a generation, after losing $5.5 billion last year. Mercury's makeover is important to Ford's recovery. "I feel like I'm getting pulled in two directions," she says wearily over dinner in Irvine on a workday that began 17 hours earlier in Detroit. By the next morning, though, she's moving fast around the office, only limping slightly on the leg she broke a few months ago while running to a crying child in the night. Even that injury couldn't keep her home. She was back in California a week later, piloting a motorized wheelchair her staff dubbed "the Mercury Lynx." That's the kind of drive she expects will propel her onto Ford's board, where she intends to be outspoken and involved. "I don't want to be the junior board member," she says. Henry would be proud. ■

On the Road, to Stay in the Air

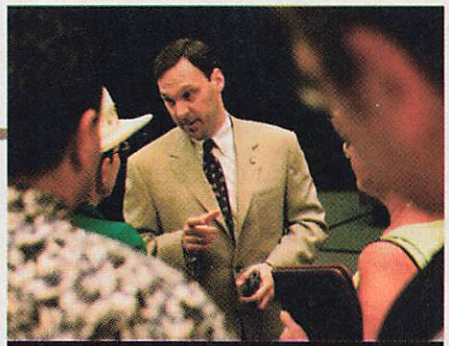
Forget James Brown. The hardest-working man in the road-show business these days is David Siegel, the new CEO of troubled US Airways. Siegel just spent two weeks barnstorming the East, warning his pilots, machinists and flight attendants that they'll need to take big pay cuts or else face bankruptcy. "I feel like a rock star," Siegel told NEWSWEEK as his van sped to the Orlando airport. "When I wake up tomorrow and I don't have to go to an employee meeting, I'm gonna freak out."

Begging for concessions from airline labor groups is an ancient story. So is not getting them. But the stakes are sky-high for US Airways, which lost almost $2 billion last year. It has the highest costs in the industry. The rocky economy has kept high-fare business travelers away. Bargain-priced competitors like Southwest Airlines have been cannibalizing its leisure routes, particularly to Florida. And the terrorist attacks hit its bread-and-butter airports like Reagan National particularly hard. "They've got a very difficult chance of survival," says Darryl Jenkins, an airline expert at George Washington University.

But Siegel, a 10-year industry veteran, insists that "what we're not going to do is fail." Later this month he hopes to apply for some of the money Congress has earmarked for the ailing industry. But to qualify, US Airways needs a viable business model, which Siegel contends will take more than $1 billion in cuts.

Labor, being labor, is indignant. Several of Siegel's predecessors tried and failed at the same mission. But there are signs that his message may be getting through. After his recent stop in Tampa, workers emerged singing his praises, using words like "sincere" to describe him. Late last week pilots proposed more than $300 million in cuts, though still short of the half billion that Siegel requested. They may not always agree, but both Siegel and his employees share a desperate hope that the show will go on.

-KEVIN PERAINO



LET'S MAKE A DEAL: US Airways' Siegel tells workers about the need for cuts

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: AP, COURTESY FORD, PHOTOGRAPH BY KEVIN KOLCZYNSKI FOR NEWSWEEK, POPPERFOTO

Robert J. Samuelson

The Erosion Of Confidence

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES OMMANNEY FOR NEWSWEEK

A DECADE AGO, THE IDEA THAT JAPAN MIGHT default on its government debt was a crackpot notion. Since World War II, no major industrial country had repudiated any of its debt, and Japan—the world's second largest economy and a technological leader—seemed the least likely candidate to do so. No more. All the bond-rating agencies have downgraded Japan's debt; recently, Moody's lowered its ratings several notches. The odds of default are rising.

By itself, Japan's altered plight is fascinating. But it is even more instructive as a metaphor for a larger economic transformation. We have gone from a world (it seems) of small and understandable risks to one of huge and imponderable hazards. Terrorism? Who knows? It might be an immense danger—or merely a periodic tragedy. The accuracy of corporate accounting? Another black hole. The increase of tainted companies (Enron, et al.) sows widespread suspicions, even if the scandals touch only a few firms.

Among corporate executives and institutional investors—more than average consumers—there's a vague loss of confidence. It reflects the unease of venturing into uncharted waters. Economic forecasts typically incorporate changes in interest rates, prices, labor costs and the like. These are familiar benchmarks. But increasingly, economic psychology depends on hopes and fears that lie outside recent experience. We don't know what we don't know—or the consequences of what we don't know.

There's a rediscovery of risk. Japan's government debt is a case in point. In 2003 total debt (the money borrowed to cover past deficits) will reach nearly 150 percent of national income, or gross domestic product, estimates the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. In 1991 it was 61 percent of GDP. By contrast, U.S. government debt is 58 percent of GDP; Italy's debt is 105 percent of GDP. Worse, Japan's debt is growing rapidly, because its current deficit (the gap between spending and taxes) is immense, almost 7 percent of GDP.

The classic ways of cutting a budget deficit are raising taxes and reducing spending. But because Japan's economy is already so weak, either approach might cause a deep recession and worsen the deficit. If Japan's debt grows 4 percent to 7 percent a year, it will soon hit "levels not seen in the developed world since before World War II," says Moody's. At some point, "debt levels become unsustainable."

Just what this means is unclear. Banks, pensions and other investors might balk at buying bonds (that is, lending money). In that case, Japan could not repay maturing debts. Or Japan might unilaterally extend the maturities of existing debt. Or something else. When might the debt become "unsustainable"? Says Moody's: "Such a point is not knowable in advance."

In the last year, we have gone (it seems) from a world of small and understandable risks to a world of huge and imponderable dangers

Vincent Truglia, who oversees Moody's government bond ratings, says the odds of a default are still small. Perhaps 200-1. But the odds rise with the debt. Naturally, the Japanese government says a default is "unimaginable." Most debt is in yen. About 95 percent is held by Japanese, who are huge savers. The government's presumption is that ordinary Japanese will continue to make vast deposits into banks and other financial institutions, which will buy the needed amounts of bonds.

Not everyone agrees. Adam Posen of the Institute for International Economics foresees a financial crisis sooner rather than later. Japanese savers, he says, have been shaken by loss-plagued banks and pyramiding government debt. The danger is a shift from deposits into "cash, gold [and] offshore accounts." The result would be a credit squeeze. Since last summer, says Posen, monthly gold imports into Japan have risen fivefold.

So: we don't know whether a crisis might occur, when or what it would look like. Nor can we know the repercussions, in part because there's no recent precedent. "After the late 19th century, the defaults are almost all in emerging markets—they're Argentina, Brazil and Turkey," says economic historian Barry Eichengreen of the University of California.

Here is the larger parable: uncertainty breeds caution. People everywhere act on dreams and dreads. The stock market flourishes or falters according to the prevailing mood. To make new investments, companies need more than cash flow. They need enthusiasm. In the late 1990s the euphoria was indestructible. Now there is a curious tension. American consumers have remained fairly optimistic. Their spending has kept the economy advancing. But among economic elites, there's a foreboding that something—terrorism, corporate scandals, a "dollar crisis," a "Japan crisis"—is leading us to we know not where.

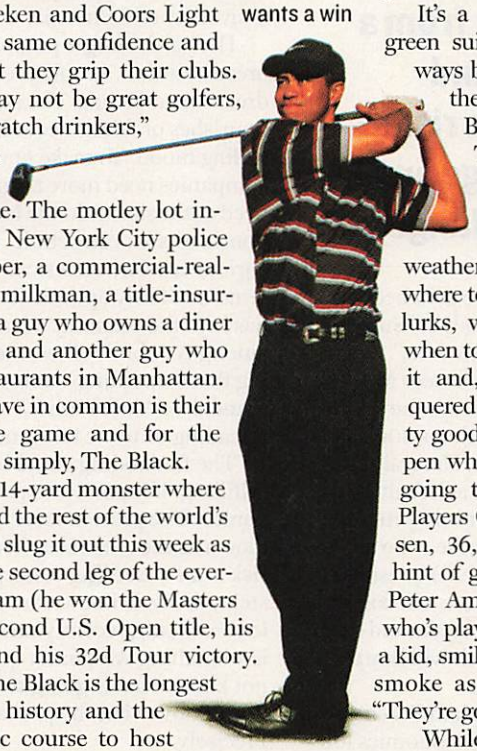
The foreboding could become self-fulfilling, if it paralyzes people and companies. The present fears may be as overblown as the recent euphoria. But genuine risk is an unsettling concept. Peter Bernstein, the well-known author and economic consultant, recently said: "Uncertainty is something we cannot quantify, we do not know what is going to happen, we don't know what the probabilities are." Precisely.

This week, the U.S. Open will be held on Long Island's public Bethpage Black. The cops, plumbers and other locals who know it best have some tips for golf's elite.

The People's COURSE

BY DAVID NOONAN

IT'S SUNDAY AND THE FAITHFUL have gathered, but this is definitely not church. The cigars are lit, the beer is flowing and some of the language is, shall we say, out of bounds. A dozen or so members of the Nassau Players Club are talking golf in the clubhouse bar at New York's Bethpage State Park, site of this year's 102d U.S. Open. Many are accomplished players who regularly shoot in the 70s and low 80s. Many are also masters of the 19th hole who grip their Heineken and Coors Light bottles with the same confidence and enthusiasm that they grip their clubs. "Some of us may not be great golfers, but we're all scratch drinkers," says one, as his cronies laugh at the familiar joke. The motley lot includes a retired New York City police officer, a plumber, a commercial-real-estate broker, a milkman, a title-insurance executive, a guy who owns a diner on Long Island and another guy who owns some restaurants in Manhattan. What they all have in common is their passion for the game and for the course they call, simply, The Black.

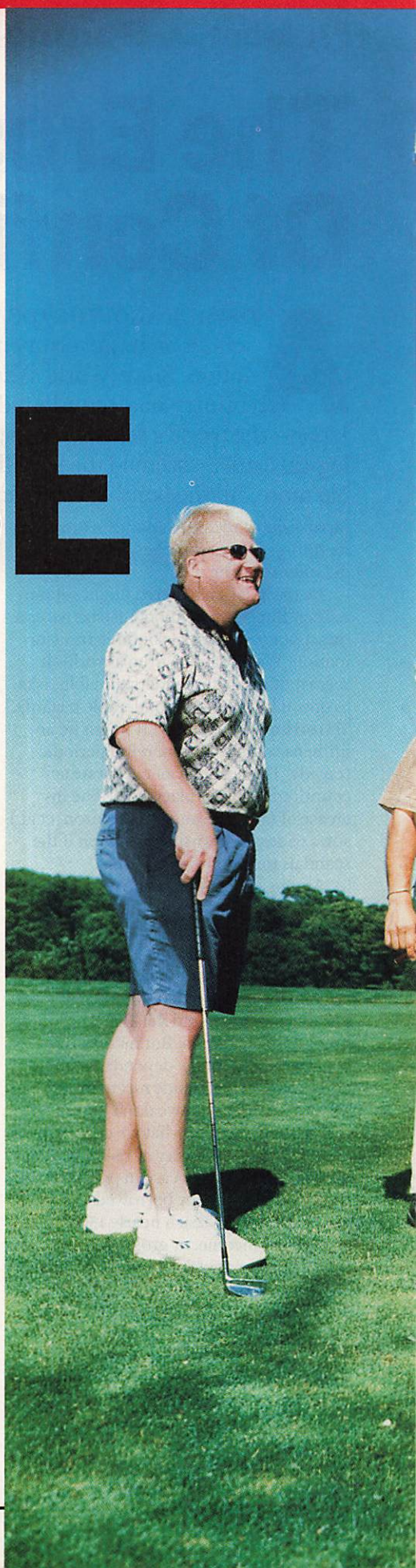


MAJOR PLAYER: Woods wants a win

That's the 7,214-yard monster where Tiger Woods and the rest of the world's best players will slug it out this week as Woods seeks the second leg of the ever-elusive grand slam (he won the Masters in April), his second U.S. Open title, his eighth major and his 32d Tour victory. Built in 1936, The Black is the longest course in Open history and the first truly public course to host the prestigious event; last year more than 30,000 rounds were played on Bethpage Black, one of five courses in the park. Greens fees are just $31 on weekdays and $39 on weekends. A blue-collar course with a silver-spoon pedigree, it was designed by A. W. Tillinghast, who created two other great courses in the New York area, Baltusrol and Winged Foot. You don't have to be rich to play The Black, but you'd better be good. After a practice round, Woods called it "the hardest par-70 course I've ever seen."

It's a great big rattlesnake in a green suit, and nobody knows its ways better than the members of the Nassau Players Club. The Black is their home course. They have walked every foot of its vast reaches (no carts allowed) in all seasons and every kind of weather. They know all the shots—where to hit the ball, where trouble lurks, when to go for the green, when to lay up. They've conquered it and, more often, been conquered by it. And they have a pretty good idea what's going to happen when the pros take it on. "It's going to be very difficult," says Players Club president Gary Thorsen, 36, a 7-handicapper, with a hint of glee in his understatement. Peter Amoruso, 43, a scratch golfer who's played The Black since he was a kid, smiles through a cloud of cigar smoke as he foretells the future. "They're gonna get buried."

While the fairways are narrow-



FROM LEFT: SCOTT HALLERAN—GETTY IMAGES, PHOTOGRAPH BY R. JEROME FERRARO FOR NEWSWEEK

THE LOCALS: Thorsen, Amoruso, Finnegan and Benado know the many secrets of The Black

er, the rough deeper and the greens faster for the Open, the basic character of The Black is unchanged. "It's the same course that we play," says Michael (Mikey B) Benado, 45, a 6-handicap who's played it for 22 years. "Tighter and faster, but still the same." The Black is a mentally and physically demanding course laid out on deceptively hilly terrain. Misleading sightlines and subtle elevation changes can lead the unwary into trouble; on many shots, players have to aim away from what seems like the correct target area. And there are lots of elevated tees and greens, sneaky-steep climbs that sap a golfer's energy as he makes his way around. "The guy in the best physical condition is going to win the thing," says Bill Bartell, 49, whose average round of 2-under-par puts him among the very best amateurs. Retired cop Mike Finnegan, 55, a 10-handicapper, cuts to the heart of the matter with a bit of Long Island zen. "It's tough because it's The Black," he says with finality. The untimely arrival of some lung-sucking East Coast humidity, always a possibility on Long Island in June, could make it even more of a challenge.

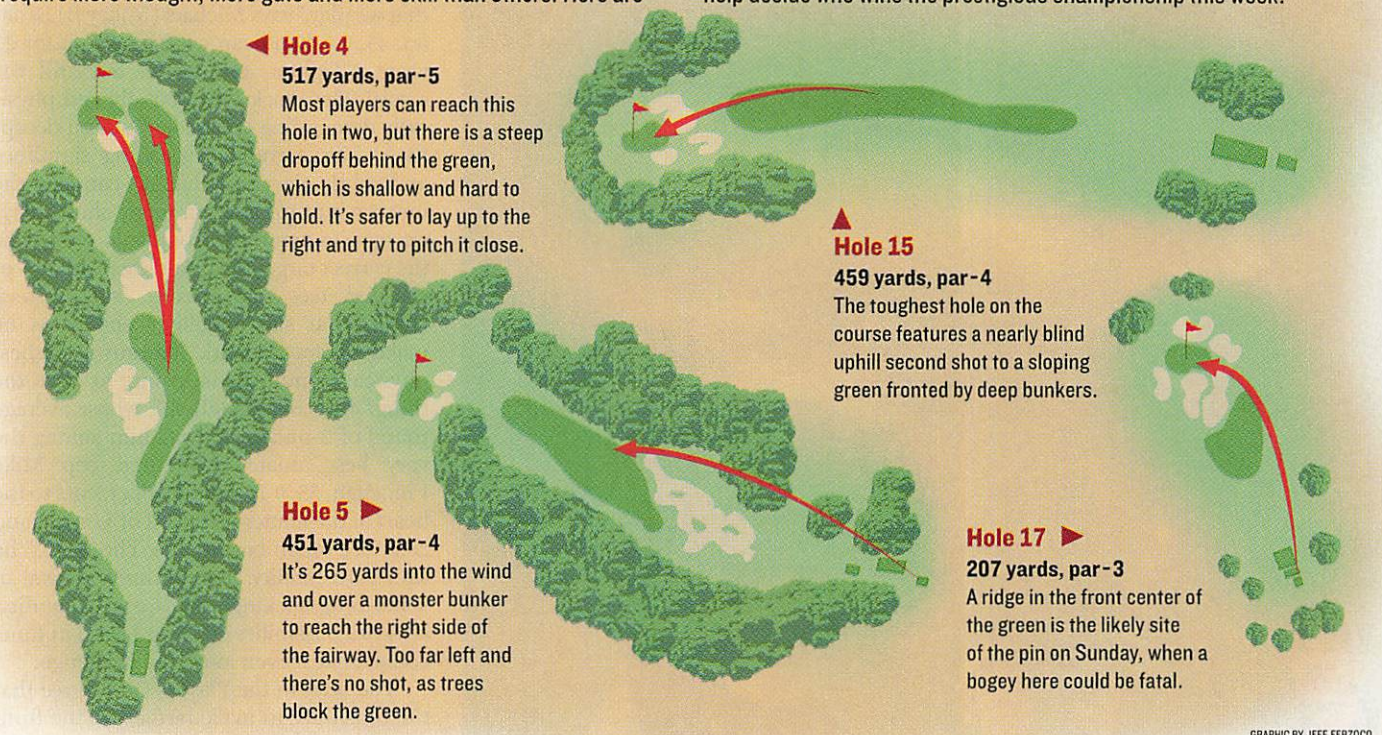
The boys in the Players Club agree that the pros have to make birdies on the front nine to have any chance of winning. "The first four holes you should be 3-under-par," says 7-handicapper Peter Cardasis, 57. "Otherwise you're dead, you're done, you won't win the U.S. Open." That's because the back nine is a brutal test of power and accuracy where players will do well just to make par. It's a potential death march that includes the 10th hole, a 492-yard par-4; the 12th hole, a 499-yard par-4 (the longest in U.S. Open history), and the 15th hole, considered the toughest on the course, another par-4 with a long climb to a green that sits 50 feet above the fairway. "Here's what you do when you get to the 15th tee," says Amoruso. "You put your bag down next to the water fountain, take off your hat and glove and splash cold water in your face and over your head. Then you stand up and say, 'OK, I'm ready, let's go.' Because if you lose your edge there, you make double bogey and you're out of it."

A tour of The Black in the company of Joe Rehor, director of golf at Bethpage, confirms the wisdom of the Players Club members and offers a close-up look at some of the horrors that await Woods and his colleagues. There is, for example, the tee shot on number 10. Standing on the tee, with the wind howling out of the north, directly into his face, Rehor points across 270

Newsweek MSNBC Check out virtual 360-degree images of The Black course at Bethpage State Park, powered by Golf VR

Four Make-or-Break Moments on The Black Course at Bethpage

Every swing a player makes in the U.S. Open is important, but some four key shots—two on the front nine, two on the back—that could require more thought, more guts and more skill than others. Here are help decide who wins the prestigious championship this week.


Hole 4
517 yards, par-5
Most players can reach this hole in two, but there is a steep dropoff behind the green, which is shallow and hard to hold. It's safer to lay up to the right and try to pitch it close.
Hole 15
459 yards, par-4
The toughest hole on the course features a nearly blind uphill second shot to a sloping green fronted by deep bunkers.
Hole 5
451 yards, par-4
It's 265 yards into the wind and over a monster bunker to reach the right side of the fairway. Too far left and there's no shot, as trees block the green.
Hole 17
207 yards, par-3
A ridge in the front center of the green is the likely site of the pin on Sunday, when a bogey here could be fatal.

GRAPHIC BY JEFF FERZOCO

yards of knee-high grass toward the fairway, which seems to be in the next county. "There's definitely gonna be bitching and moaning about this hole," Rehor says. "It always plays into the wind. How are the best players in the world going to feel if they can't even reach the fairway?" Because of a split start this year, half the field of 156 will begin the Open on the 10th; the back nine will be their first nine. Asked about the odds that one of these ill-fated hopefuls will grab the first-round lead, Rehor looks around at the wind-lashed trees, then shakes his head. "Forget about it," he says.

As the beers go down and the noise level in the bar goes up, the members of the Nassau Players Club predict the winning score for the Open. They figure 9-under at best, maybe just 4-under. A lot depends on the weather and the wind, but they're sure it won't be 12-under. That's what it was in 2000, when Woods dismantled Pebble Beach, with its famous views of the Pacific and its $350 greens fees. Woods is the top choice to win, followed by Phil Mickelson. A couple of the guys like David Duval, a couple more like John Daly. But Dick Russini, 69, a regular on The Black for 35 years, until a triple bypass took the clubs out of his hands in 1998, names the real favorite among the locals. "I'm rooting for the course," he says. "The course is going to win." Sounds like a sure thing. ■

Now, That's a Bad Sunburn!

Grade-school teachers like to say that all life on Earth depends on the sun's energy for warmth, photosynthesis and perfect beach days. It is a reassuring message. Could there be a more reliable benefactor? But as astronomers are all too aware, our neighborhood star can be fickle and dangerous—every so often it sends great gobs of deadly radiation out into the solar system. At last week's American Astronomical Society meeting, Stanford University scientists presented findings that may help predict the sun's next "mass ejection."

Last year the sun unleashed the biggest one scientists had ever seen: a tongue of flame stretching hundreds of millions of miles. Fortunately, the solar system is big and the Earth is a tiny speck; this one missed us. But we might not always be so lucky. A direct hit would have caused power outages, communications failures and birth defects from the radiation, not to mention one heck of an aurora borealis. An even bigger plume could conceivably do greater damage to life on the planet (quick, call Hollywood)—though, it must be said, the odds are pretty remote.

To figure out what's behind this behavior, the Stanford astronomers took a decade's worth of data and turned them into a kind of motion picture of the sun. It was some scary flick. Like Earth, the sun has north and south magnetic poles. Unlike Earth, every 11 years the sun's poles do a complete flip: north becomes south and south becomes north. The movie revealed giant, knotted loops of magnetism that sprout from sunspots to the sun's poles, acting like levers to flip the poles upside down. Scientists will try predicting the sun's flare-ups when the solar cycle peaks again in 10 years.

In case you're starting to relax, a Dartmouth scientist also revealed last week more solar mischief. The sun's magnetic field varies in 100,000-year cycles that correspond to climate records on Earth. Coincidence? Or does solar magnetism affect Earth's climate? If so, President Bush may have another excuse to ignore global warming.

-FRED GUTERL

NASA—PHOTRI

NOT A QUIET PLACE: Small sun flares are common, but big ones are tough to predict

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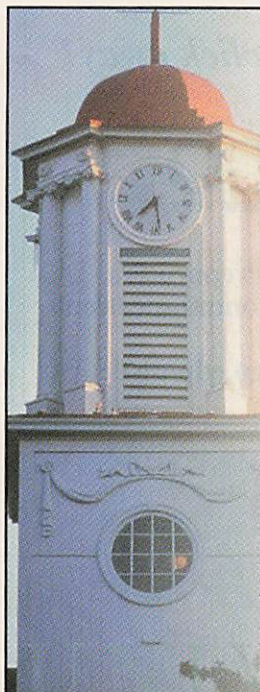

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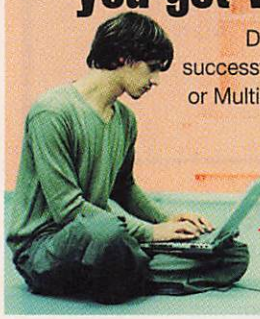

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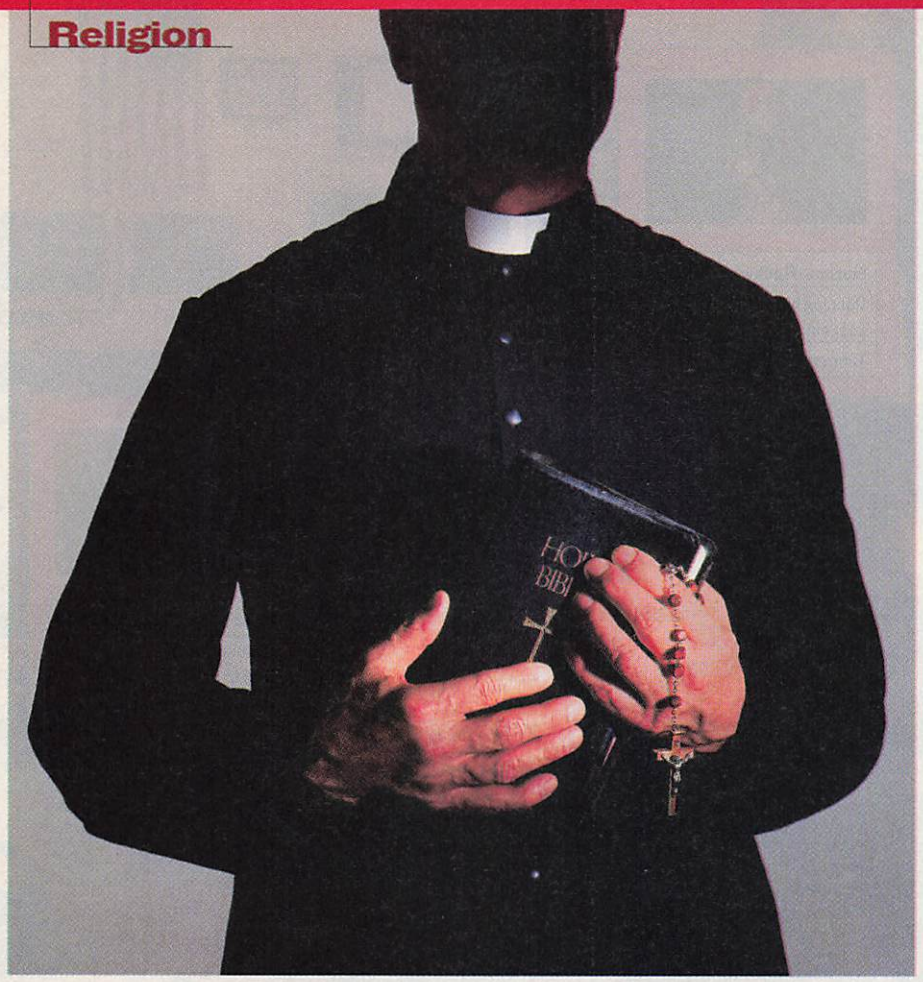


Battle of the Faithful

Catholics are voicing hurt and anger over the church's sexual-abuse crisis. Is the hierarchy listening?

BY DAVID FRANCE

MARTY ST. GEORGE MOVED to the front of the brightly lit cafeteria of St. Joseph School in Wilmette, Ill., a suburb north of Chicago, past more than 80 other parishioners who had come to an unofficial forum to offer their ideas for ending the seemingly endless abuse crisis. To him, the issue is as much about derelict bishops as abusive priests. "At the core is a breakdown of responsibility, of too many of the church hierarchy chosing themselves over their flocks."

Similar gatherings have taken place in parishes across the country as Roman Catholics have sought to influence church bishops before their semi-annual meeting opens in Dallas late this week. Many of the listening sessions were organized by church leaders. But much of the initiative has come from outside the hierarchy, as it did in Chicago, sometimes with explicit disapproval of local dioceses. In Boston—where the scandal first broke five months ago—Cardinal Bernard Law has sought to quell lay organizations, calling them "potentially divisive." Despite that, a movement called Voice of the Faithful began there in February. It now has 13,000 members in 40 states, all demanding a role in navigating the church out of its worst crisis in centuries. So far, the groups have had little success.

Last week the bishops' Ad Hoc Committee on Sexual Abuse released a controversial draft proposal for handling sex-abuse cases that will be debated at the Dallas meeting. The document calls for the dismissal of any priest hit with new charges, as well as past serial offenders and diagnosed pedophiles, but stops short of a "zero tolerance" policy—it allows one-time offenders from years back to continue in the ministry. Archbishop Harry Flynn of St. Paul and Minneapolis, chairman of the committee, told reporters in Washington last week that a small but ardent minority of bishops wanted such "wiggle room." "We need to believe in the possibility of conversion and we need to believe in the possibility that someone can grow, someone can turn the corner," he said.

Many lay Catholics, and even a number of ranking church leaders, criticized the document for missing the point. "I need to believe in conversion, too," says Linda Pieczynski, the spokeswoman for Call to Action. "But that doesn't mean they have a right to wear the Roman collar."

Further inflaming passions, last Friday night conference organizers abruptly disinvited abuse victims who had been scheduled to address them, in response to a lawsuit filed Thursday by the 3,800-member Survivors Network of Those Abused by Priests. The suit seeks to void gag orders the church has insisted on in abuse-case settlements. "This is not punishment," says the Rt. Rev. Francis Maniscalco, the bishops' spokesman. "In a sense you could say that we are being punished" by the lawsuit. "I think people will understand this." In fact, few do. The Rev. Gary Hayes, president of another abuse survivors' group, Linkup, calls the bishops "petulant and juvenile." Abuse leaders say they will descend on Dallas nonetheless. With 700 journalists expected, their voices will reach the men in black one way or another. But will they listen?

With SARAH DOWNEY in Chicago

Newsweek MSNBC Join us for a Live Talk on church reforms, Wednesday, June 12, at noon, ET on Newsweek.MSNBC.com.

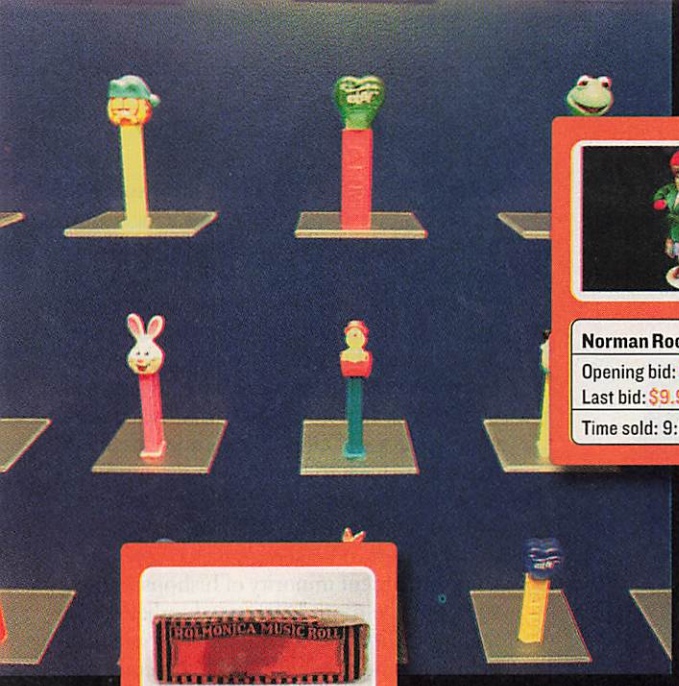
Inside the American Bishops' Ad Hoc Committee

Some lay Roman Catholics don't think the bishops' plan to end the crisis goes far enough. No surprise: more than half the eight-member advisory panel has been tainted by the scandals.

5 Archbishop Harry Flynn (right), the chairman, has drawn fire for shielding abusers, as have Bishops John Gaydos, John McCormack, John Myers and James Quinn.

3 In contrast, Bishops Joseph Galante, George Niederauer and William Lori have fared much better—their sex-abuse policies have not been challenged.

TOP TO BOTTOM: PHOTOGRAPH BY JONATHAN KANTOR FOR NEWSWEEK, KANG HYUNGWON—REUTERS



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Last bid: $9.95
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Opening bid: $2.99
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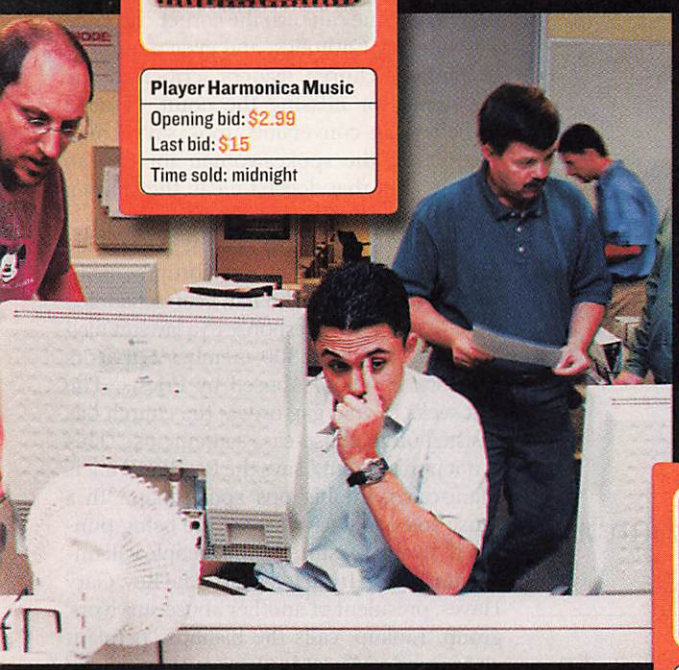

Eleven Golf Clubs With Bag
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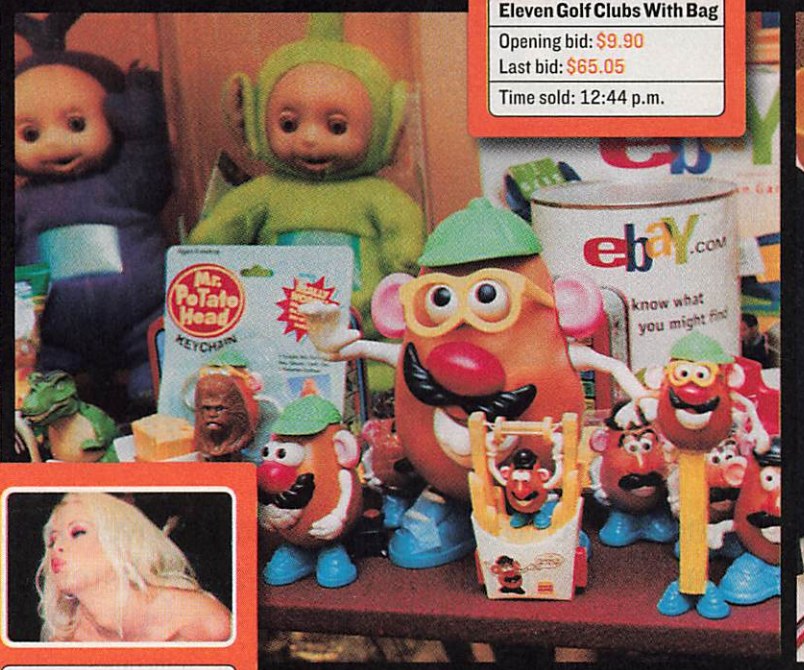

Eight Porn-Star Photos
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Time sold: 3:10 p.m.

Object Lust

Each day, about half a million items are sold on eBay, washing a river of merchandise across the nation and the world. Here, a look inside eBay headquarters in San Jose, Calif., with some of the items that sold on May 29, ET.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROBERT YAGER FOR NEWSWEEK, INSETS: NO CREDITS

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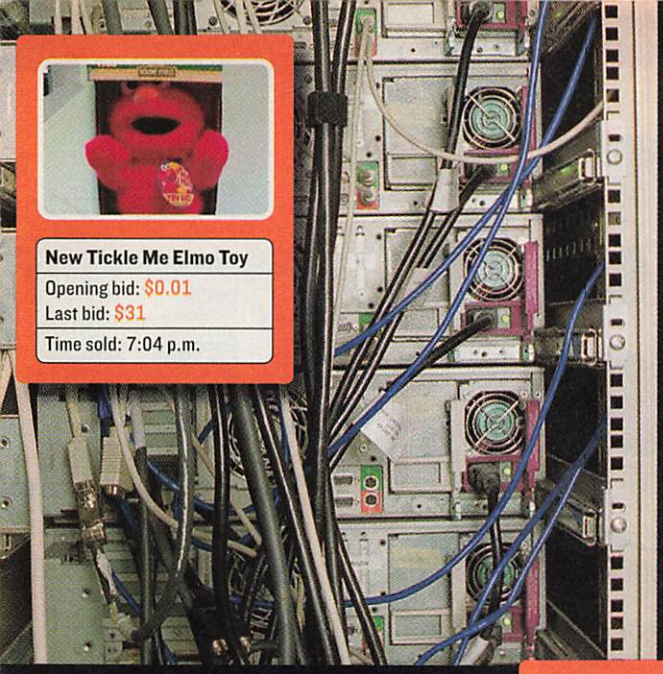

New Tickle Me Elmo Toy
Opening bid: $0.01
Last bid: $31
Time sold: 7:04 p.m.

Mounted Goat Head
Opening bid: $89
Last bid: $182.50
Item unsold: 10:53 a.m.

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Opening bid: $500
Last bid: $1,901
Time sold: 7:57 p.m.

For sale: a castle in Tucson, a bridal gown, Tickle Me Elmo and anything else you could name. NEWSWEEK spent 24 hours in the world's biggest online marketplace, hoping to learn what makes America click.

BY JERRY ADLER

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Actually, I have no such thing, and if I did, it would be shoved away someplace where I wouldn't have to face the existential choice of fixing it or throwing it away. But now I realize there is a third option, to list it for sale on eBay, the electronic auction Web site that has revolutionized the meaning of "junk" for nearly

PHOTOGRAPH BY CLIVE FROST FOR NEWSWEEK

MICHELIN-MAN COLLECTOR

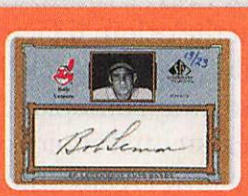
Alastair Cameron, Nantwich, England

What he bought: Never-used Michelin Man salt-and-pepper shakers made in Japan

Opening bid: **$14** | Closing bid: **$61**

50 million people around the world. Someone else sold one last week for $33.26, plus shipping charges, which meant I would have cleared enough to purchase, say, 16 uncleaned authentic ancient Roman coins at $2 each, and the buyer would have ... well, that would be his problem, but maybe he'd know someone who fixes this stuff cheap. By definition, though, we both would have gotten something we wanted, increasing by some tiny increment the sum total of happiness in the world—mine, his and that of Pierre Omidyar, the young engineer who founded eBay in his apartment in 1995, and built a $4.6 billion fortune on the premise that the Internet is the perfect device for the second most important form of human convergence, the meeting of buyers and sellers.

That proposition was proved nearly 170 million times last year, as eBay users exchanged some $9.3 billion worth of goods in 18,000 categories that together cover virtually the entire universe of human artifacts—Ferraris, Plymouths and Yugos; desk, floor, wall and ceiling lamps; 11 different varieties of pocket watches; contemporary Barbies, vintage Barbies and replica Barbies. Admittedly, this was only about 4 percent of Wal-Mart's $220 billion in sales last year—but Wal-Mart deploys a worldwide network of warehouses, more than 3,000 stores and 1.3 million workers. EBay got by with no stores, fewer than 3,000 employees and without taking legal or physical possession of so much as an Indian-head penny. (Of course, that also means it doesn't book the $9.3 billion as revenue; revenues from listing fees and advertising last year amounted to $749 million.)



Autographed Baseball Card

Opening bid: $9
Last bid: $280.25
Time sold: 11:16 p.m.

If Wal-Mart is the exemplar of modern, centralized, mass marketing—the last stage of an evolution that began with the 19th-century department store—eBay signals the coming of age of postmodern, decentralized, virtual marketing. It's a step, says global marketing chief Bill Cobb, toward the creation of "the first worldwide economic democracy." And, while almost anything you can buy at a Wal-Mart, except perishable groceries and firearms, can probably be found on eBay, the reverse doesn't hold. EBay members can sell a five-bedroom, triple-turreted Tudor-style castle in Arizona while Wal-Mart's polyester-backed middle managers would still be wondering where to stick the bar code.

It began, legendarily, as a place for Omidyar's girlfriend to trade with fellow collectors of Pez dispensers. (A new history of eBay, "The Perfect Store" by journalist Adam Cohen, calls that the "romantic" version of

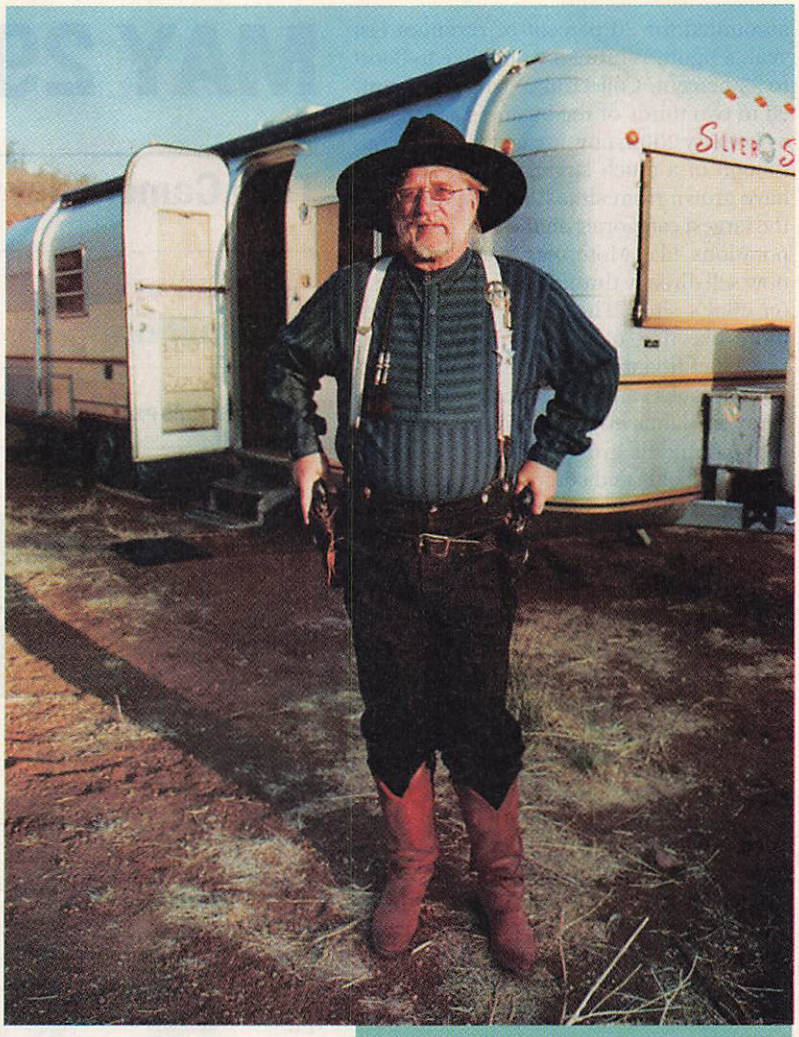
PHOTOGRAPHS BY SIAN KENNEDY FOR NEWSWEEK (2)

BALLET DANCER

Jeanene Russell, Charlotte, N.C.

What she sold: One pair of used, 'size 6XXX' toe shoes left over from her professional career

Opening bid: **$1.50** | Closing bid: **$11.50**



WILD-WEST RE-ENACTOR

Loren Collete, Silver City, N.M.

What he bought: Twenty-four bullet-hole stickers for fake shoot-outs. Also, previously, his trailer.

Opening bid: **$0.99** | Closing bid: **$0.99**

eBay's founding.) But in retrospect eBay's success was almost overdetermined. It brought to millions the excitement of participating in an auction, previously confined to those who shop for antiques, thoroughbreds and oil leases. In the nature of an auction buyers may get carried away and overpay—a boon to sellers—but those who prevail get to think of themselves as "winners." And Omidyar, out of a combination of conviction and shrewdness, built his business as a "community" of "members" or "users," but never "customers." Members police their own manners and honesty by awarding one another feedback points for successful transactions; almost nowhere else in the world can you garner so much praise for the simple act of putting a check in the mail. And, now that the technological infrastructure has caught up with the explosive growth of the site, it is almost seductively easy to use. The ability to search across 11 million items puts every belt buckle, router or ceiling fan on the site just seconds away.

May 29, 2002—the day the broken DVD player made its appearance on eBay, with an opening bid of $5—was a fairly typical day on eBay's 19 worldwide sites. Just over a million auctions ended, with gross merchandise sales of $26,422,255—ranging from a $53,100 coin collection down to 49 cents for a set of NASCAR matchbooks. For those 24 hours, NEWSWEEK correspondents at eBay's headquarters in San Jose, Calif., and at computers around the country kept watch on the site, monitoring a river of merchandise as it flowed from garages and warehouses around the world to ... well, other people's garages.

What we found was that eBay, while struggling to hold onto its founding values of community and its roots among computer buffs and Beanie Baby collectors, is moving closer to mainstream retailing. Ebay managers are still fanatically attentive to the complaints and desires of their members, who in the last week of May were deluging the company with e-mails protesting, or defending, changes it was making to one of its innumerable electronic forms. Meanwhile, however, the whole basis of the business was slowly shifting.

As eBay has evolved under the leadership of CEO Meg Whitman (page 56), an experienced corporate manager who took the reins from Omidyar in 1998, a growing share of items are being sold at a fixed price, rather than by auction; those sales

accounted for 20 percent of revenues last year, a figure Whitman would like to boost to 33 percent. Collectibles, which amounted to two thirds of the business as recently as January 2000, now are just one third (although of a much larger whole), and cars have grown from almost nothing to one of the largest categories on the site. Large corporations like Motorola, Sears and IBM now sell directly through their own "stores" on eBay's site. "The pie is looking much more like that of a mainstream retailer," says chief financial officer Rajiv Dutta—although looks can be deceptive in this case. EBay disclaims any ambitions to dominate the vast middle ground of everyday retailing, the khakis and compact discs and cosmetics. Instead it concentrates on the two tails of the retail bell curve: unique or hard-to-find items, such as new computer games that can be sold at a premium, and used or outdated or overstocked merchandise that can be discounted. But in a $900 billion retail economy in the United States, even those two tails cover a lot of territory.

Since everything that transpires on eBay is recorded, and most of it is public, the site constitutes a gold mine of data on American tastes and preoccupations. Had we been watching on September 11, we would have seen, "within minutes" of the World Trade Center collapse, people putting up chunks of debris for sale, according to eBay spokesman Henry Gomez. (The company removed the listings as soon as it found them, although it took no comparable action last year when eBay sellers ran from their TV sets to their computers to be the first to list their Dale Earnhardt coffee mugs.) Last winter saw a booming business in Enron paperweights, key chains, polo shirts and tote bags, which has since tailed off, although by the end of May someone still harbored enough outrage to pay $14 for an Enron "Ask Why" mouse pad. Beanie Babies and Furbies continued their descent into collectible purgatory, from which they can be redeemed only by nostalgia, while buyers bid up bobblehead dolls, which "exploded out of nowhere" last year. This is what the Internet was invented for, the seamless meshing of demand with supply across infinite distance. Somewhere in those terabytes of data we hoped to answer what could someday be a trillion-dollar question: what makes America click?

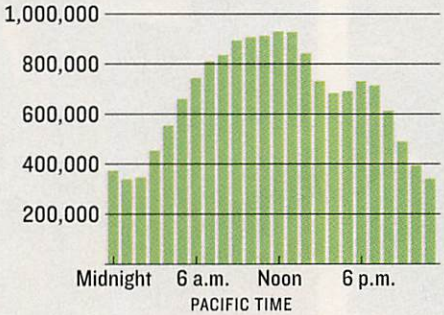
One pair of used ballet shoes, 6XXX, for $11.50. Secondhand clothing has a somewhat disreputable history on eBay. Until the company banned the practice, there was a thriving trade in women's used underwear, which would sell for as much as $30 a pair. Used ballet shoes could also carry the kind of value-added that eBay frowns

MAY 29, 2002: 24 HOU

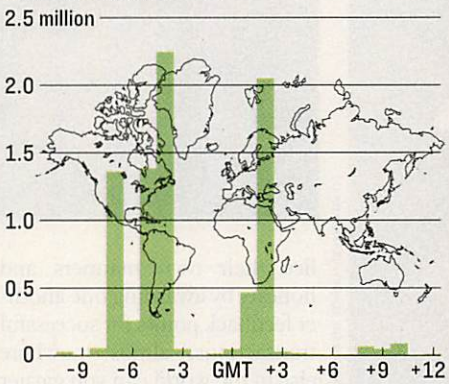
They Came, They Saw ...

Unique visitors:*
8.2 million

UNIQUE VISITORS PER HOUR

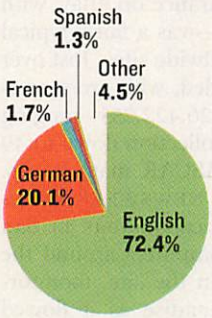


VISITORS BY TIME ZONE



Midday peak, with 1 million visitors: Noon to 3 p.m., PT

TOP LANGUAGES SPOKEN



English	5,958,600
German	1,656,200
French	142,900
Spanish	113,900
Dutch	74,700
Italian	72,100
Chinese	36,900
Japanese	34,000
Korean	15,700
Swedish	12,400

What's Out There

Whether it's time shares or Eames chairs you're looking for, chances are someone's trying to sell it online. Here is a sampling of May 29 offerings—in Pacific time—including number of category listings, bids made and merchandise gross sales. Going once, going twice ...

ARTS & A

SONY DIGITAL CAMERAS

Listings: 547
Bids: 3,348
Sales: $79,865

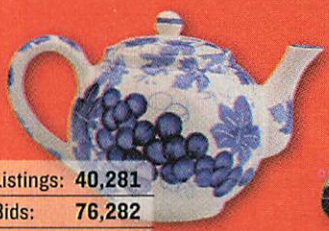
RECORD

MEAT, POULTRY & SEAFOOD

Listings: 51
Bids: 140
Sales: $868

EVENT T

HOME & LIVING



Listings: 40,281
Bids: 76,282
Sales: $800,895

FORD CA

Listings: 3
Bids: 3,9
Sales: $492,8

How They Traveled

ENTRY	SECOND PAGE
Home page >>	34% Search
	15% Sign in
	6% My eBay bidding
	4% eBay Motors
	41% Other

RS ON EBAY

Billions of dollars a year in revenue, trillions of bids. But what happens on the world's most successful Web site in a single day? Here's a snapshot.

NTIQUES

Listings: 26,869
Bids: 48,674
Sales: $761,359

PALM PDAs

Listings: 1,321
Bids: 5,031
Sales: $46,328

EVENING HANDBAGS

Listings: 446
Bids: 1,479
Sales: $36,765

Listings: 16,451
Bids: 18,874
Sales: $112,490

APPLE POWER MACs

Listings: 190
Bids: 854
Sales: $26,114

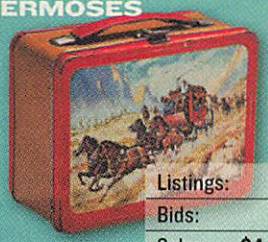
REAL ESTATE

Listings: 168
Bids: 999
Sales: $52,580

CKETS

Listings: 3,349
Bids: 16,441
Sales: $413,888

LUNCHBOXES & THERMOSES



Listings: 429
Bids: 785
Sales: $4,916

BRACELETS

Listings: 2,237
Bids: 4,321
Sales: $47,506

RS

SPORTS MEMORABILIA

Listings: 25,295
Bids: 31,354
Sales: $212,541

'NODDERS' a.k.a. BOBBLEHEADS

Listings: 622
Bids: 759
Sales: $5,462

They Browsed, They Bid

TOP WORD SEARCHES	MOST BIDS/ITEM
1 Gucci	1 Land
2 Art	2 Passenger vehicles
3 Star Wars	3 Furniture & decorative arts
4 BMW	4 Motorcycles
5 DVD	5 Other vehicles
6 Louis Vuitton	6 Time shares for sale
7 Longaberger (wicker baskets)	7 Desktop PCs
8 Prada	8 Camcorders
9 Kate Spade	9 Film cameras
10 Xbox	10 Digital cameras
11 Burberry	11 Reward points
12 PlayStation 2	12 Portable audio & video

Total listings ended: 1,046,859
Total bids: 2,069,828

MOST EXPENSIVE PURCHASES

TIME	ITEM DESCRIPTION	PRICE
18:15:10	Coin collection	$53,100
08:27:58	Currency notes	34,000
12:11:02	Coin collection	28,357
08:02:42	Cisco router	15,400
19:29:22	European furniture	12,500
11:34:35	Embroidery machine	9,700

Merchandise gross sales: $26,422,255
Est. eBay commission: $1,823,136

THIRD PAGE

- 74% View item
- 26% Other

- 77% My eBay bidding
- 23% Other

- 38% View item
- 18% My eBay selling
- 8% View item ended
- 25% Other

FOURTH PAGE

- 38% View item
- 16% My eBay selling
- 8% View item ended
- 27% Other

Pages viewed: 310 million

Breaking the Rules

FACTS ABOUT FRAUD

- EBay receives 200,000 queries† per month; 70 percent are answered within 24 hours.
- One one-hundredth of 1 percent of all eBay listings result in a confirmed case of fraud. With an average of 9 million items for sale on any given day, that works out to an estimated 900 fraudulent items on the site each day.
- Of all fraud claims filed, 78 percent result from nondelivery of items.
- EBay covers each transaction up to $200.

PROHIBITED FROM SALE

- Alcohol (except wine)
- Credit cards
- Drugs, drug paraphernalia
- Firearms
- Human parts and remains
- Lock-picking devices
- Plants and seeds
- Prescription drugs
- Stocks and other securities
- Surveillance equipment
- Tobacco

*VISITOR TRAFFIC DATA IS WORLDWIDE; MERCHANDISE DATA IS FOR U.S. ONLY. †NOT ALL QUERIES ARE FRAUD-RELATED.
SOURCES: OMNITURE/SITECATALYST, EBAY DATA WAREHOUSE. RESEARCH BY JOSH ULICK. GRAPHIC BY BONNIE SCRANTON.

upon, but this pair had an impeccable provenance. Jeanene Russell, 28, who recently gave up dancing to become a choreographer with the North Carolina Dance Theater, has been emptying her attic of the new and used shoes she bought, cheap, as a student with the Bolshoi Ballet in Moscow. Listing them at first for a dollar, she was delighted when one pair was bid as high as $32. The pair she sold on May 29 were bought by a young woman in Bellevue, Wash., who no longer dances, but wanted them for a Halloween costume party.

Kitchen sink, new, $50. Stan Searing, 43, of San Jose, describes himself as a "consummate collector," although his tastes run to used amplifiers, power supplies and motor controls, which pile up in his garage until his wife threatens to throw them into the pool. Then, he says, "I go out there and start picking things out" to post on eBay. The flaw in this system is that even in the act of disposal he is irresistibly attracted to eBay's fabulous bounty of electronic gear, so he imposes on himself the dubious discipline of buying

PHOTOGRAPH BY ROBERT YAGER FOR NEWSWEEK

THE CEO: Meg Whitman has carefully guided eBay's growth

PROFILE

For the CEO, satisfying eBay's tough customers is a full-time job

Meg Gets on the Line

BY BRAD STONE

Last month thousands of subscribers to Microsoft's free Hotmail service found themselves suffering from a punishing form of deprivation: they couldn't receive e-mail from eBay. EBay CEO Meg Whitman happened to be touring her company's customer-service center outside Salt Lake City as complaints about the problem were pouring in. Colleagues say the 45-year-old Long Island native likes to set an example for employees by solving problems herself, quickly and decisively. True to form, Whitman grabbed the nearest telephone and called Microsoft CEO Steve Ballmer in Redmond, Wash. "I'm on it," Ballmer vowed. By the end of the day, Microsoft had dedicated a special Hotmail server just for processing eBay messages.

Six feet tall, confident, optimistic and polished, with degrees from Princeton and Harvard, Whitman looks dramatically unlike a rumpled dot-com tycoon. But her Old Economy training—she worked at Disney and Hasbro before joining eBay in 1997—allows her to move with ease in the world of boardrooms and shareholders. And her marketing background, her conviction that customers really matter, has been her first line of defense in dealing with eBay's huge and hard-to-please community of buyers and sellers.

For their part, the shareholders give Whitman an A. During her tenure, revenues have grown from $47 million in 1998 to $749 million in 2001, and the company has posted profits every quarter. Venture capitalist Bob Kagle, who's on the eBay board, praises Whitman for having the "courage to be decisive and make tough choices," while "paying attention and respect to the community."

But satisfying the 50 million eBay members has been trickier. In the same week that Whitman solved the Hotmail crisis, other eBay members were on the site's message boards griping about fraud, fees and customer support. Whitman addresses the grumbling with characteristic optimism. "The great thing about running this company," she says, "is that you know immediately what your customers think."

What some of the more cantankerous members of the eBay community think is that Whitman has sold out the company. Partly, her very nontechie affect plays against her. The chief executive had rarely been online before she flew West for her first interview, and even now, happily ensconced in Silicon Valley with her neurosurgeon husband and two teenage sons, she doesn't own a Palm handheld. When she took eBay public in 1998, a vocal minority was outraged that their egalitarian community was being taken away from them. "They see her as the force that turned eBay from a community into a commodity," says Rosalinda Baldwin, who edits the critical newsletter TAG. But Whitman waves the opposition away and insists that over the long term, Wall Street and the eBay community are actually both interested in the same thing: a growing, vibrant online marketplace. Not even a Microsoft glitch can interfere with that.

Chrome Art Deco Toaster
Opening bid: $14.99 Last bid: $75.99
Time sold: 8:02 p.m.

One man spent his $300,000 retirement fund on such items as lawn equipment and stereos

PHOTOGRAPH BY SIAN KENNEDY FOR NEWSWEEK

JUNK CONNOISSEUR

Stan Searing, San Jose, Calif.

What he sold: A white kitchen sink weighing 108 pounds that he rescued from the garbage heap

Opening bid: **$1** | Closing bid: **$50**

only stuff that's *smaller than what he's trying to get rid of.*

The sink was being thrown away by a friend, and Searing decided he could sell it on eBay instead. He was right; in fact, he sold it twice, the first time for $140 to someone who promptly sent it back because of black specks in the finish. Searing checked with the manufacturer, who informed him that it was normal to have black specks in the finish, but he gave the buyer his money back anyway; otherwise he risked every eBay user's nightmare, negative feedback. Searing put the sink up for sale again, this time with a warning about the spots, and resold it for $50. This was a lot of trouble for $50, he admits, but once he got started on the project, he wanted to finish, and besides otherwise the sink could have wound up in a landfill, and also, there's a lot of stuff on eBay you can buy with that $50.

Of course, ever since there have been garages people have been stuffing them with junk that didn't fit in their living rooms. But some psychologists think eBay's particular format lends itself to an obsessiveness that borders on the unhealthy. The excitement of auctions can captivate people far out of proportion to their real need or desire for, say, 90 hours of "Knight Rider" videotapes (which on May 29 attracted 13 bids as high as $126.53). And the object involved needn't even have the emotional resonance of early David Hasselhoff shows. Kimberly S. Young of the Center for Online Addiction in Bradford, Pa., once treated a man who spent his entire retirement fund of $300,000 bidding on nothing more evocative than lawn equipment and stereos. "We get a lot of eBay addicts," she says.

300-Thread-Count Pure Egyptian Cotton Queen-Size Sheet Set, listed for $159. The sellers were Suzanne Ziesche and Shannon Miller, roommates and business partners in Newport Beach, Calif., who discovered last year that among all the books, computers, wine and airplane tickets for sale on eBay, luxury linens had somehow been left off. So, after a brief excursion into leather-bound portfolios (they bought 80 from a wholesaler and still have 50 left), they found a source for imported bedsheets and began offering them at steep discounts and with hundreds of dollars' worth of lush adjectives (incredible silky softness and sheen) free with every order. In January, after several months of 12- and 14-hour days, they reached eBay's "silver power seller" level, meaning they averaged more than $10,000 in sales a month. "We would never have known how to get into this niche without eBay," says Miller. The four-piece set of sheets sold on May 30 for the "buy it now" price of $159—a relatively new feature that allows a buyer to make a pre-emptive order and avoid the last-minute anxiety of waiting for the auction to close.

Harry Potter Audio Books

Opening bid: $40
Last bid: $105
Time sold: 8:21 p.m.

Miller and Ziesche thereby joined a cadre of businesses—as many as 200,000—that exist entirely on eBay. They coexist with eBay merchants who are extensions of a brick-and-mortar business, like the Raynham, Mass.-based firm 3Balls, which began as an adjunct to a pro shop at a nine-hole golf course, and now has 20 employees managing a vast trade in used golf equipment; on May 29 alone they sold $24,797 worth of gear. Other entrepreneurs have colonized even more exiguous economic niches, such as clipping and reselling grocery coupons; the same day, someone was offering a bundle of 20 coupons, each worth $1 off two bags of Lender's bagels. After a notably desultory contest they were sold for $1.76 to someone who outbid the only other interested party by a penny. But even traditional businesses have been transformed by eBay's unique capabilities. If you have a stamp store, your customers basically are stamp collectors. But if you list your stamps on eBay, you are selling to an entire universe of collectors who may not know, or even care, what a stamp should cost, because their interest is actually in Lindbergh or Elvis or the Erie Canal. "They type in whatever they collect in the search

engine," says Bob Miller, who began dealing in stamps and old postcards on eBay in 1997, "and up pops one of my listings, and they just have to have it." This is exactly the kind of creative ferment that eBay's executives believe will change the world eventually. "I see our role as managing evolution," says Dutta. "There are millions of entrepreneurs saying, how do I use this to make a buck? Some will succeed, and millions will fail."

Daguerreotype of young Abraham Lincoln. Listed at $11 million. Auction closed with no bids. The owner, a New York man named Albert Kaplan, now thinks it was probably a mistake to try to sell this photograph of a dark-haired man in his early 30s on eBay, where it would have more than doubled the highest price of any previous transaction on the site, a $4.9 million private jet. He bought it in 1977 for $25, and a quarter century of research, backed by opinions from forensic scientists, has convinced Kaplan that it is the earliest known image of the 16th president. But its provenance is uncertain, and other authorities on 19th-century photographs remain to be convinced.

2001 Daewoo Hatchback

Opening bid: $3,995
Last bid: $7,200
Time sold: 10:35 p.m.

One of the great advantages of eBay's own business model is that it can afford to be agnostic about the authenticity of items such as this. Someone who buys it and later decides it wasn't Lincoln after all would have no recourse against eBay (although if he paid for it and it was never delivered he might be eligible for a reimbursement from the company of up to $200, leaving him $10,999,800 out of pocket). But intentional fraud by sellers, while not an issue in this case, is always a

OPINION

Snipers, bargains, rip-offs and other tricks of the trade

How to Play the eBay Game

BY STEVEN LEVY

UNCLE BOB'S BEEF JERKY WORLD'S
STEAK KABOB
WOW THESE ARE SO GOOD. YOU CAN ALMOST SMELL THEM CANT YOU!!
Winner gets 1 FULL LB + FREE
EXTRA STEAK KABOBS

PHOTOGRAPH BY ROBERT YAGER FOR NEWSWEEK

NO REMORSE: You can buy anything you want, but do you want to?

Two minutes 14 seconds left, and beads of perspiration are forming on my forehead. The trigger for my sweat glands is my precarious status as high bidder on a Hawaiian shirt that I have viewed only in a fuzzy digital photo. I am dreading the fate I've suffered in nearly all my previous eBay auctions: with 40 seconds left, some anonymous freak swoops down and tops my bid. Even more infuriating, the scavenger may well be doing this in his or her sleep, using automated "sniping" software that snatches eBay items at the last minute.

This time, though, no snipers emerge, and, theme song from "Rocky" playing in my head, I exult in victory. Then comes the blowback. *Forty million people on eBay, and no one besides me thought that the shirt was worth more than $30?* Two weeks later, the garment arrives in good condition. But I never do wear it.

As a technology commentator I have nothing but admiration for eBay's brilliant execution of a business plan made for the Internet (and vice versa). As a social observer I am fascinated by the dynamic community that has evolved from its well-designed rules and its critical mass. But as a participant I have mixed feelings. EBay's the greatest store on earth and all, but it also lures you into a vortex of object lust, battle fever and post-auction remorse.

So let me lend my experience to those tempted to dip a toe into the water, hoping not to lose a leg to the sharks.

First, there are no bargains on eBay. By definition. You "win" the competition by paying more than other people are willing to spend. You're not stumbling across some hidden gem in a yard sale; you're bumping elbows with millions of other scroungers, including people who know more than you do about the item for sale.

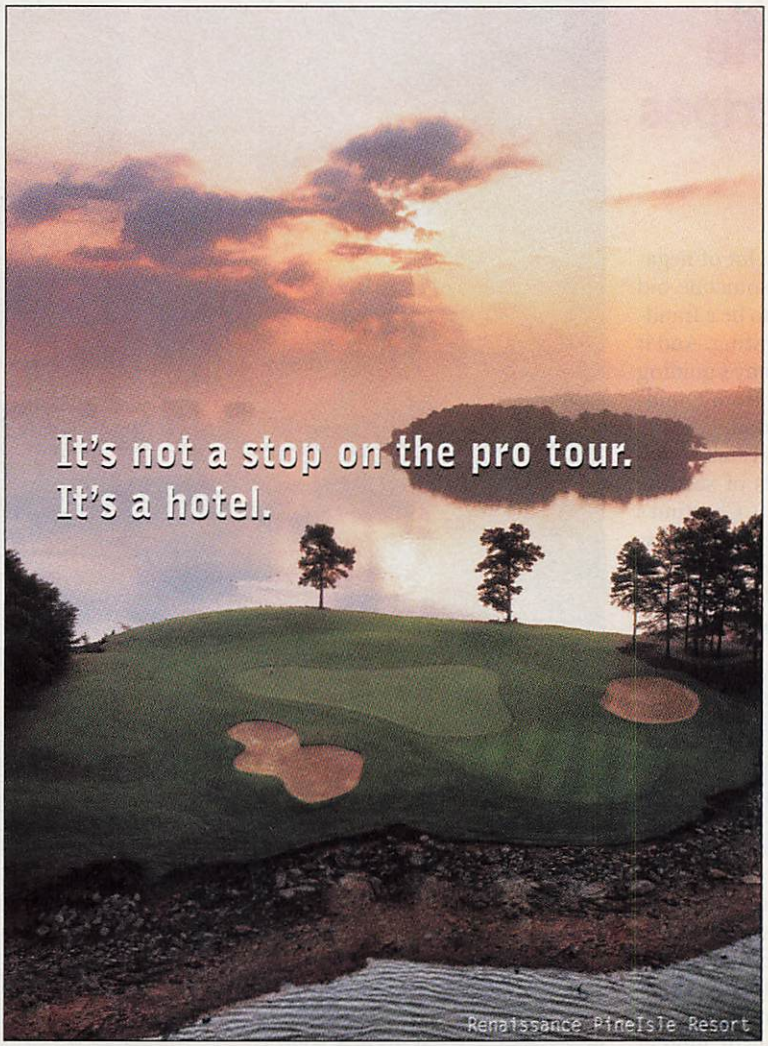
So why even bother? The astounding selection of goodies, of course. That comprehensiveness winds up changing the way you collect things. Before eBay, I hunted steel lunchboxes on pop-culture themes of the '50s and '60s, prowling yard sales and antique shows for rare items that sometimes took years to find (my holy grail: a pail celebrating the obscure sitcom "It's About Time"). But on eBay, at any given moment, there were hundreds of boxes available—including my formerly elusive quarry. Where was the fun? I gave up collecting lunchboxes.

But because eBay has everything, I was tempted to go after stuff I'd never seen. I'd always wondered whether it was possible to obtain one of those lineup sheets that baseball managers post in the dugout and use to keep track of who's available to pinch-hit. On eBay I found some, and they're great one-of-a-kind collectibles, at reasonable prices.

In certain instances, you can use eBay to grab new commodity items. A whole class of merchants auction off stuff they can't move quickly in stores. When I wanted a Grateful Dead boxed set that lists for $150, I found units offered on eBay almost every day, and set a strategy: I'd bid $100 (including shipping) for each until I won an auction. After four tries, I got one.

Other lessons are just common sense. Choose sellers with good histories (but realize that because of those reputations, winning bids will be a bit higher). Hold off bidding until the last moment (otherwise you're prone to "shilling," when unscrupulous sellers plant bids to jack up the price). And if you really, really want something, put down the most you're willing to spend as a "proxy" bid and don't look back. But first ask yourself: is this item so rare that there won't be another listing soon? Even the Hope diamond probably pops up on eBay a couple of times a year.

Oh, and about that sniping software that springs in the closing seconds of an auction? Get used to it. I do take comfort, though, in knowing that those who snipe suffer consequences, too. Even for them, when it's time to pay the bill for the trinket in question, the classic eBay question arises: who really won?



If you can picture the good life, you're likely to find it at a Renaissance hotel. Watch your golf ball nestle softly on a breathtaking fairway, or relax and discover a new taste sensation. It's not a fantasy. It's your weekend getaway. Book soon and you can experience Renaissance at a special weekend rate.

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eBay managers are fanatically attentive to the desires and gripes of members

concern for eBay. There was a lot of negative publicity last year when someone bid $135,000 for what turned out to be a fraudulent Richard Diebenkorn painting. And it is a direct assault on the company's guiding philosophy, inherited directly from Omidyar, that people are basically good.

Controlling fraud by sellers (and, sometimes, buyers) is in the hands of security chief Rob Chestnut. On May 29, Chestnut's staff of about a dozen was deploying new software to detect frauds, which he pegs at "less than 0.01 percent of all listings." The best defense, eBay officials maintain, is the vigilance of the community, enforced through the feedback system. But con artists know this, too, and they have taken to "hijacking" the accounts of eBay members in good standing. That apparently happened to a young Wisconsin mother who had used her eBay account to sell off a few baby clothes, but on May 29 was horrified to discover that she was listed as the seller of an Apple Powerbook computer at $2,500. She managed, although narrowly, to stop the buyer from sending off a wire transfer to an account in Canada. Chestnut's other responsibility is to police the site for banned items. On May 29, his aides took down a bootleg Barry Manilow video and a fake Rolex, several items with swastikas on them, a live parrot and a shell from an endangered tortoise, and a number of firearms, which have been banned on eBay since February 1999. But no one stopped the sale of ...

Candid Jenna Jameson Porn Star Big Boobs DVD, $12.50. We don't know much about the person who won this auction, except that around the same time he paid $7.95 for an Abgymnic abdominal-trainer belt. He had a dream, clearly, and his merged with a million others, carried back and forth across the country and around the world in a torrent of binary digits: all the buyers who saw promise in broken VCRs, fulfillment in Wayne Gretzky autographs, riches in a pound of unsorted Lincoln-head pennies that just might contain the rare 1909S-VDB. You could see Omidyar's vision taking shape, a world in which every single object has, through the miracle of technology, found its way to the person who values it the most. As the young man (we presume) was looking forward to getting to know Jenna Jameson, a 27-year-old woman in Maryland was watching the bidding on a dress she had hoped to wear to her wedding in August. It was a new ivory-colored princess silhouette in size 12, and she had fallen in love with it and bid it up to $355. Unfortunately, she did this without checking the fit, and after tracking down the same model at a store she'd discovered that in wedding-dress sizes, she was something more than a 12. So she was watching the screen in the hopes that someone would come along at the last minute and offer more.

No one did, though. and therein lies the final lesson of a day spent on eBay, that you can almost always find what you're looking for, but it isn't always what you want. No matter how powerful a mainframe you deploy, the algorithm for happiness is a secret no programmer can crack.

PHOTOGRAPH BY BRENT HUMPHREYS FOR NEWSWEEK

CURRENCY COLLECTOR

Adrian Crane, Dallas

What he sold: The second most expensive item on eBay that day: rare 1896 currency notes

Opening bid: **$10,000** | Closing bid: **$34,000**

Designer Wedding Gown

Opening bid: $24.99
Last bid: $355

Time sold: 11:45 p.m.

With BRAD STONE in San Jose, JULIE SCELFO in New York, KAREN BRESLAU in San Francisco and STEVE TUTTLE in Washington

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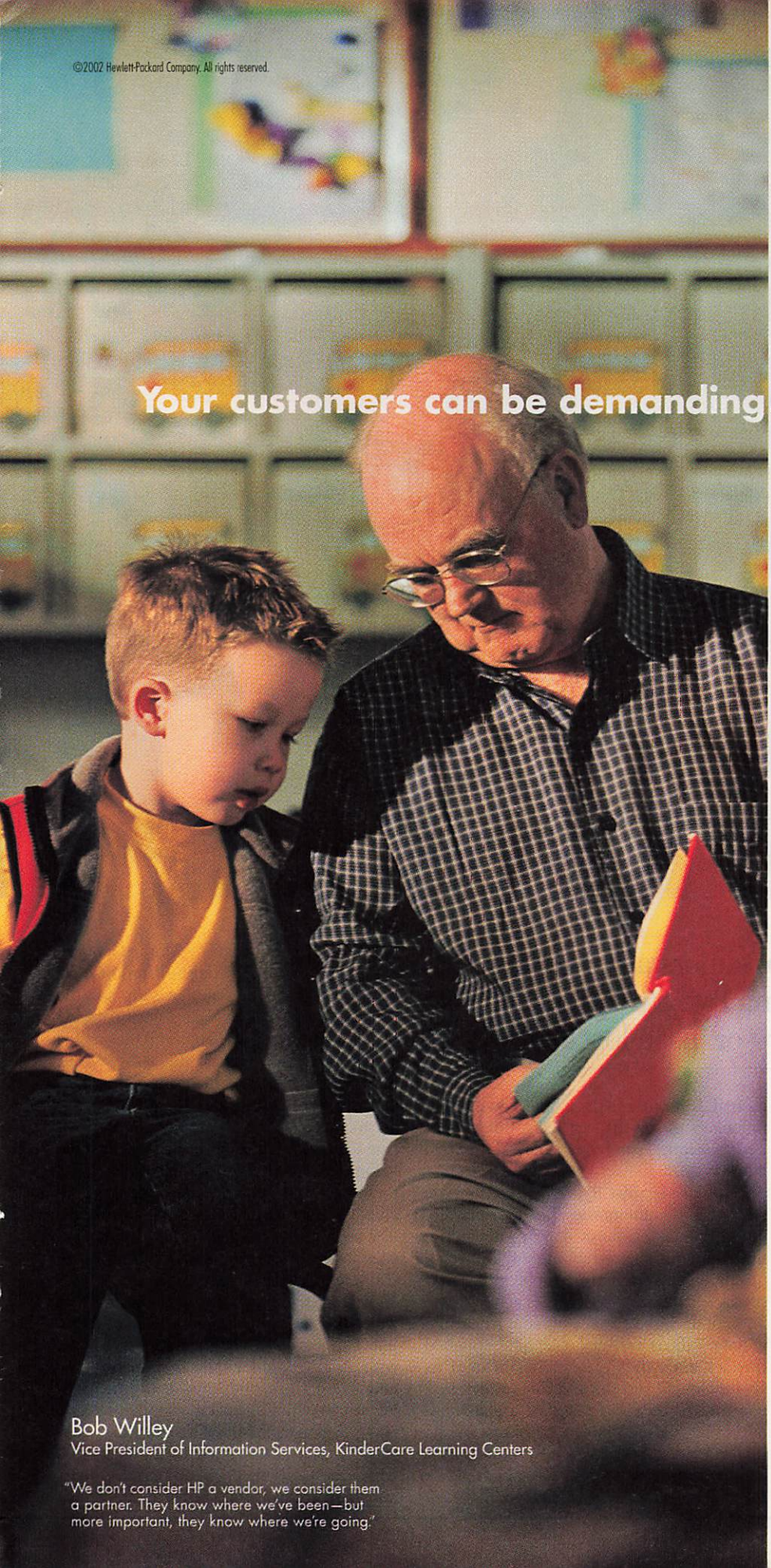

Your customers can be demanding children. So you'd rather not spend your time with a demanding infrastructure. And while this is true in many businesses, it rings no more true than at KinderCare—because their business actually *is* children.

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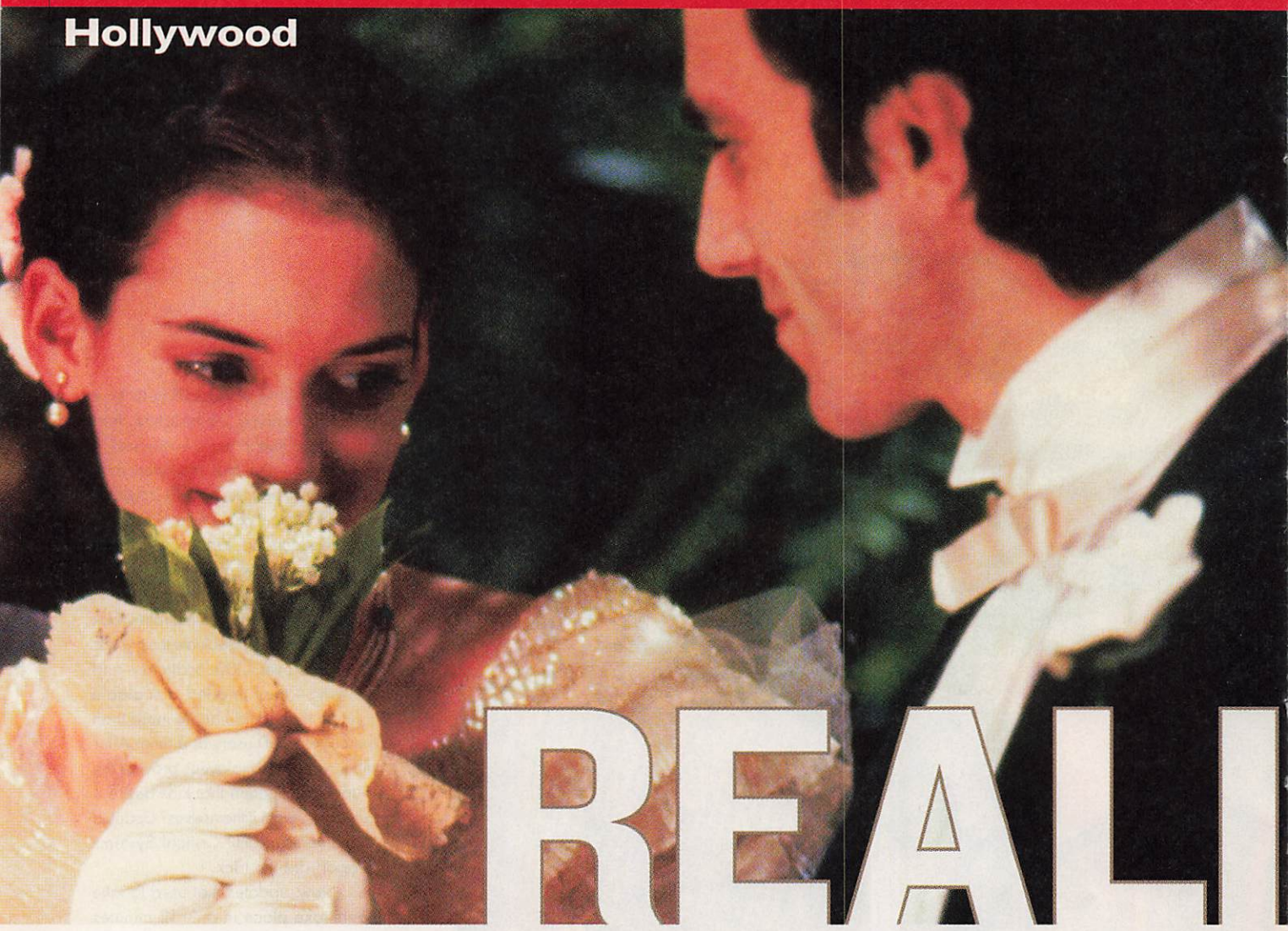


REALI

Once she seemed headed for superstardom, now she's headed for trial. Winona Ryder's a great actress. But is she really a shoplifter—or just a lost soul?

BY DEVIN GORDON

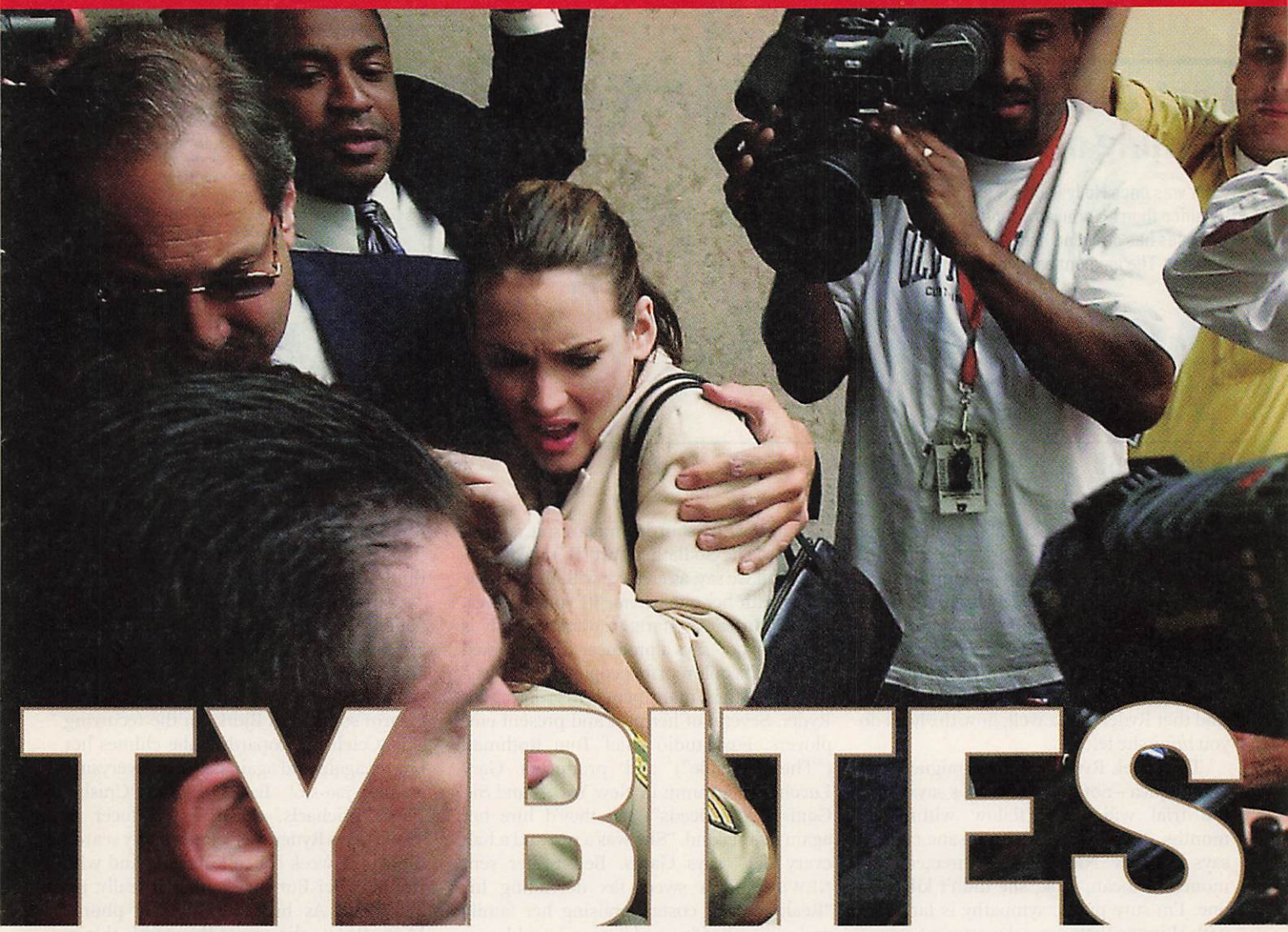
BEETLEJUICE, BEETLEJUICE, Beetlejuice! In the 1988 movie that made Winona Ryder a star, the only way to banish the crass, scheming demon haunting her house was to call his name aloud three times. Of course, he didn't go down without a fight. Demons never do, as Ryder found out here in the real world last Thursday. Six months after her Dec. 12 arrest at an L.A. Saks Fifth Avenue on charges of shoplifting and drug possession, the 30-year-old actress was in Superior Court to hear Judge Elden S. Fox send her case to trial. Maximum sentence if convicted: three years, eight months. As Ryder got up to leave, reporters kept their distance. Three days earlier a TV cameraman crashed into her right arm, reinjuring a break from months ago, and Fox ordered onlookers to stay 10 feet away. But Ryder's real concern, surely, is that Hollywood will stay 20.

The case against Ryder is becoming the stuff of E! documentaries. She is accused of entering Saks at about 4 p.m., pinballing between boutiques, grabbing $4,760 worth of clothing, snipping off those pesky sensors, then whizzing past three cash registers and out of the store. At Thursday's hearing, a Saks officer testified that she watched through slats in a dressing-room door as Ryder clipped sensors and that, after being confronted, the actress signed a statement admitting she had stolen 20 items. When police arrived, Ryder was also found carrying Oxycodone, a prescription pain reliever for which she had no prescription.

The actress's lawyer, Mark Geragos, maintains that at the trial he'll produce receipts for the clothes and a scrip for the drugs. He also accuses Saks security officers of angling for a promised bonus if they nailed a celebrity by Christmas. But NEWSWEEK has learned that the district attorney's office has evidence that purportedly shows Dec. 12 wasn't Ryder's first shoplifting incident. If true—and the actress has never been charged before—it suggests a real talent with real problems. After all, celebrities know they're always being watched—not exactly ideal conditions for theft. Unless you want to get caught. Or you're wondering whether people still care enough to watch.

Ryder's trial may eclipse a summer that was supposed to be a comeback of sorts. She'll appear in two new films: "Mr. Deeds" with Adam Sandler, her first big role in nearly two years, and "Simone," starring Al Pacino, in which she plays a spoiled actress. (It's OK, you can smirk.) Instead, she could spend the summer facing L.A. prosecutors who are no doubt sick of being embarrassed in high-profile cases. (Surely they

LEFT TO RIGHT: EVERETT COLLECTION, RIC FRANCIS—AP



TY BITES

noticed Marcia Clark, the O.J. trial D.A., at the hearing; she was covering it for "Entertainment Tonight.") Which is why, Geragos claims, his client is being charged with felonies—not misdemeanors—despite having no previous record.

Of course, if he's right, maybe it wasn't such a hot idea for Ryder to host "Saturday Night Live" on May 18 and crack jokes about her case. Even some of her peers found that PR gambit, however successful, in poor taste. "It's not funny, and kids need to understand that," says one top female star. "Nobody is going to write a skit for them if they get caught shoplifting." Attorney Howard Weitzman, who's handled cases for Michael Jackson and Hugh Grant, says Geragos should tone down the TV spots as well: "Every time he goes on 'Larry King,' I get concerned for him and his client. It's like, 'Thou doth protest too much.'"

The incident at Saks occurred about a year after the lowest moment in Ryder's career. In late 2000, she released the horror flick "Lost Souls" and the tear-jerker "Autumn in New York," two films that had nothing in common except how majorly they tanked. Ryder's It-girl days were over. "She lost that kind of cool a long time ago and watched the Gwyneth Paltrows and the J. Los take over," says another female star. "She was supposed to be Hollywood's darling, the cute one who got all the rockers." It didn't help that in a cliqueish town, Ryder no longer had the "right" friends. "She's nice," says the star. "But I have to say I always thought she was kind of odd. I think that's what a lot of Hollywood thinks."

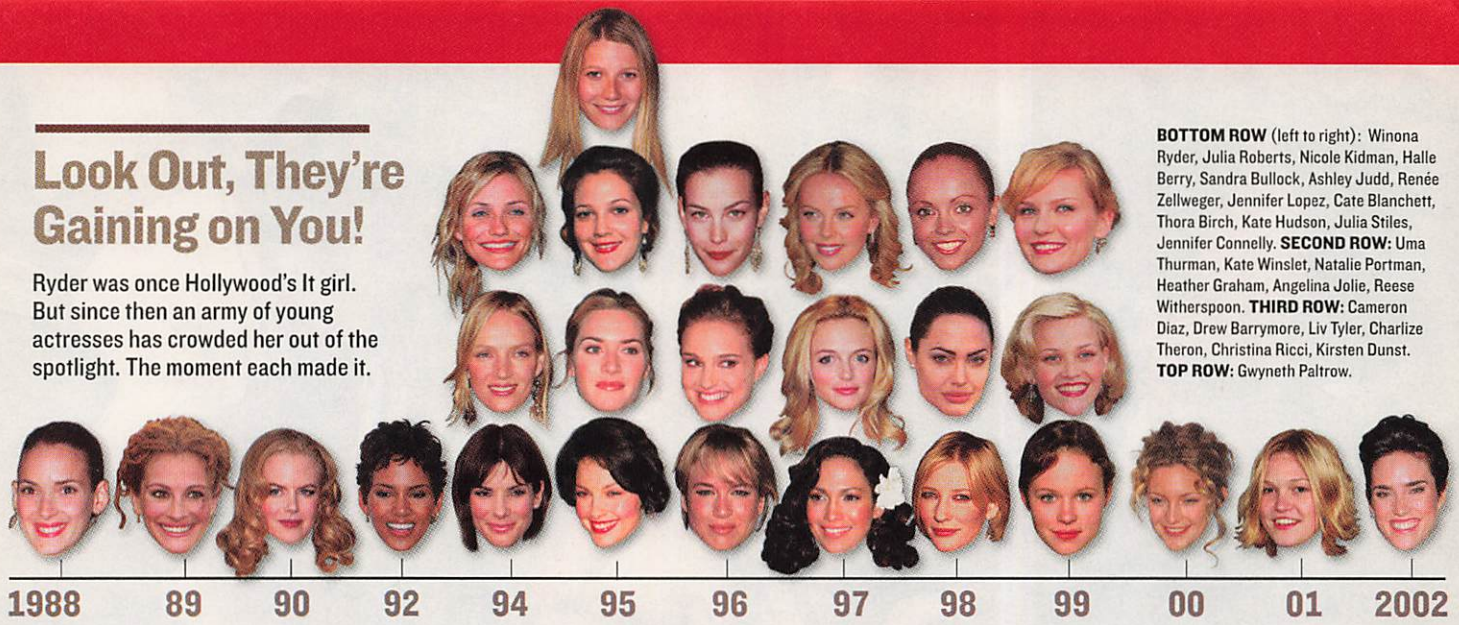
The irony, of course, is that being "kind of odd" is what made us fall for Winona Ryder in the first place. As a teenager, she shined in a series of films that helped make those years safe for beautiful freaks. She was every unencouraged artist, every unacknowledged princess. As Tim Burton's muse in the 1990 Gothic fantasia "Edward Scissorhands," she became the Juliet of her generation. (And costar Johnny Depp was her Romeo.) Ryder has never been a box-office titan: "Heathers," arguably her most iconic film, made just $2 million. "Spider-Man" makes that on a lazy Monday. But careers like Christina Ricci's and Thora Birch's are unimaginable without Ryder. And if you turn on "Six Feet Under," you can see her recast as a redhead: Claire Fisher, snapping photos about death, just like Ryder's Lydia Deitz, 14 years ago in "Beetlejuice."

THE CRUCIBLE Ryder (above left) in 'The Age of Innocence' and outside court in L.A.

The standard teen-celebrity script invariably calls for a downfall, but for a while Ryder seemed to dodge it, getting even better on screen. She flourished in more classical roles, earning back-to-back Oscar nominations for "The Age of Innocence" (1993) and "Little Women" (1994). Then Ryder began making bad choices and flailing around for a hit. She starred in schlock like "Boys" and made an unsuccessful foray into action movies with "Alien: Resurrection." All the while, ingenues were falling from the sky (graphic). "Whereas Reese Witherspoon made every right career move," says a producer who hasn't worked with Ryder, "Winona seems to have made every wrong

Look Out, They're Gaining on You!

Ryder was once Hollywood's It girl. But since then an army of young actresses has crowded her out of the spotlight. The moment each made it.



BOTTOM ROW (left to right): Winona Ryder, Julia Roberts, Nicole Kidman, Halle Berry, Sandra Bullock, Ashley Judd, Renée Zellweger, Jennifer Lopez, Cate Blanchett, Thora Birch, Kate Hudson, Julia Stiles, Jennifer Connelly. **SECOND ROW:** Uma Thurman, Kate Winslet, Natalie Portman, Heather Graham, Angelina Jolie, Reese Witherspoon. **THIRD ROW:** Cameron Diaz, Drew Barrymore, Liv Tyler, Charlize Theron, Christina Ricci, Kirsten Dunst. **TOP ROW:** Gwyneth Paltrow.

decision." Since 1994, the actress has made just one quality film, "Girl, Interrupted," based on Susanna Kaysen's memoir of her stay in a mental hospital. Ryder revered the book: a tale of a gifted girl who couldn't figure out why—or even if—there was something wrong with her. The movie ended up winning an Oscar. For Angelina Jolie. It's said that Ryder felt ... well, how the heck do you *think* she felt?

This week Ryder will be arraigned and enter a plea—not guilty, Geragos says—and the trial will likely follow within six months. "I just think it's an insane circus," says Andrew Niccol, who directed "Simone." "I mean, look, she didn't kill anyone. I'm sure public sympathy is far more with Winona than some department store."

And what about Hollywood's sympathy? Over the past decade Ryder has gotten a reputation for pulling out of projects because of mysterious illnesses ("Lily and the Secret Planting," which shut down as a result, and, famously, "The Godfather, Part III") and for being, shall we say, as creative with the truth as she is with her characters. "If you're a diva, when your career starts to wane, nobody is there for you," says a producer who's worked with her. "People root for people who are nice."

The truth is, many people *are* rooting for Ryder. Several of her past and present employers, Fox studio chief Tom Rothman ("The Crucible") and producers Gary Lucchesi ("Autumn in New York") and Sid Ganis ("Mr. Deeds") say they'd hire her again in a second. "She was a pro and a half every day," says Ganis. Ben Stiller sent NEWSWEEK a sweet fax defending his "Reality Bites" costar, praising her family and calling her "a good person." And James Mangold, director of "Girl, Interrupted," goes into such a ramble talking about Ryder that it's clear he adores her: "I think Nonie is deeply sensitive, deeply thoughtful. She loves puzzling and puzzling over things. She can get lost just reading and thinking and listening to music."

Ultimately, most of Ryder's colleagues believe that her talent will win out. Need a reminder? Check out that "Saturday Night Live" she hosted—in particular, her screamingly funny, dead-on impression of bizarro songstress Bjork. In the recurring skit "Celebrity Jeopardy!" she chimes her buzzer again and again because "everysing is mee-*yoo*-sic! Bash! Boom! Crash!" Lorne Michaels, executive producer of "SNL," says Ryder was "consistently scared the whole week [of rehearsals]. And who wouldn't be? But she handled it really, really well." As he hangs up the phone, Michaels lets slip one of those little things that seems telling. "Hey," he says, "be nice to her if you can." It's not as easy as it used to be, but we'll never stop trying.

With JOHN HORN, ANA FIGUEROA and ALLISON SAMUELS

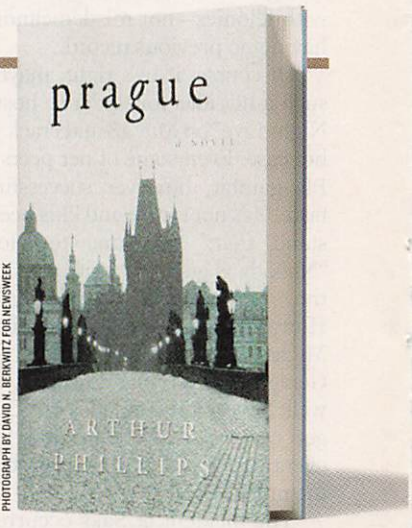
The Young and the Feckless

When we talk about beach reading, we usually mean trash fiction. But it wasn't always so. There used to be novels—they weren't common, but they did exist—that managed to be both entertaining *and* thoughtful. Think Graham Greene or W. Somerset Maugham and those novels of naive Americans abroad and in over their heads. But since those two suave giants died, no one's come along to fill their shoes. Which is the first of several good reasons to welcome the arrival of Arthur Phillips, whose debut novel, the forthcoming "Prague" (*Random House*), not only keeps you turning pages but gives you something to think about and smile about—at the same time.

Start with the title. Nothing in this book takes place in Prague. To the story's twentysomething denizens, Prague is the place where someone else is having all the fun, like the party train in Woody Allen's "Stardust Memories." Mark and Scott and Charles and Emily and John—a scholar, a teacher, a businessman, a journalist, an embassy assistant—none of these American expatriates has much to complain about, except that they live in Budapest, a city that they are convinced lacks all trace of hipness.

Yearning is only one of "Prague's" themes. The other is misunderstanding. When these self-absorbed expats aren't wanting what they don't have, they are failing to understand what's under their noses. John doesn't get that Emily doesn't love him back. More tragically, Charles, the venture capitalist who callously engineers the takeover of a venerable Hungarian publishing firm, doesn't get that he's trifling with two centuries' worth of cultural history.

Phillips has been a child actor, jazz musician, speechwriter, failed entrepreneur and five-time "Jeopardy!" champion. Now he can add accomplished novelist to his résumé. And we can stop yearning for that elegant, entertaining novel that used to be. Thanks to Phillips, it's right here, right now.



PHOTOGRAPH BY DAVID H. BERKWITZ FOR NEWSWEEK

-MALCOLM JONES

TOP TO BOTTOM LEFT TO RIGHT: STEVE GRANITZ—WIREIMAGE, ANDREA RENAULT—GLOBE PHOTOS, HENRY MCGEE—GLOBE PHOTOS, STEVE GRANITZ—WIREIMAGE, FITZROY BARRETT—GLOBE PHOTOS, DONATO SARDELLA—WIREIMAGE, FITZROY BARRETT—GLOBE PHOTOS, JEFF VESPA—WIREIMAGE, ANDREA RENAULT—GLOBE PHOTOS (2), JEFF VESPA—WIREIMAGE, STEVE GRANITZ—WIREIMAGE, FITZROY BARRETT—GLOBE PHOTOS, QUICK PICS UK-MISSION—WIREIMAGE, GREGG DEGUIRE—WIREIMAGE, STEVE GRANITZ—WIREIMAGE, GREGG DEGUIRE—WIREIMAGE, STEVE GRANITZ—WIREIMAGE, NINA PROMMER—GLOBE PHOTOS , HENRY MCGEE—GLOBE PHOTOS, ANDREA RENAULT—GLOBE PHOTOS, DAVE BENNETT-ALPHA—GLOBE PHOTOS, GREGG DEGUIRE—WIREIMAGE, KATHRYN INDIEK—WIREIMAGE, JIM SPELLMAN—WIREIMAGE, KEVIN MAZUR—WIREIMAGE

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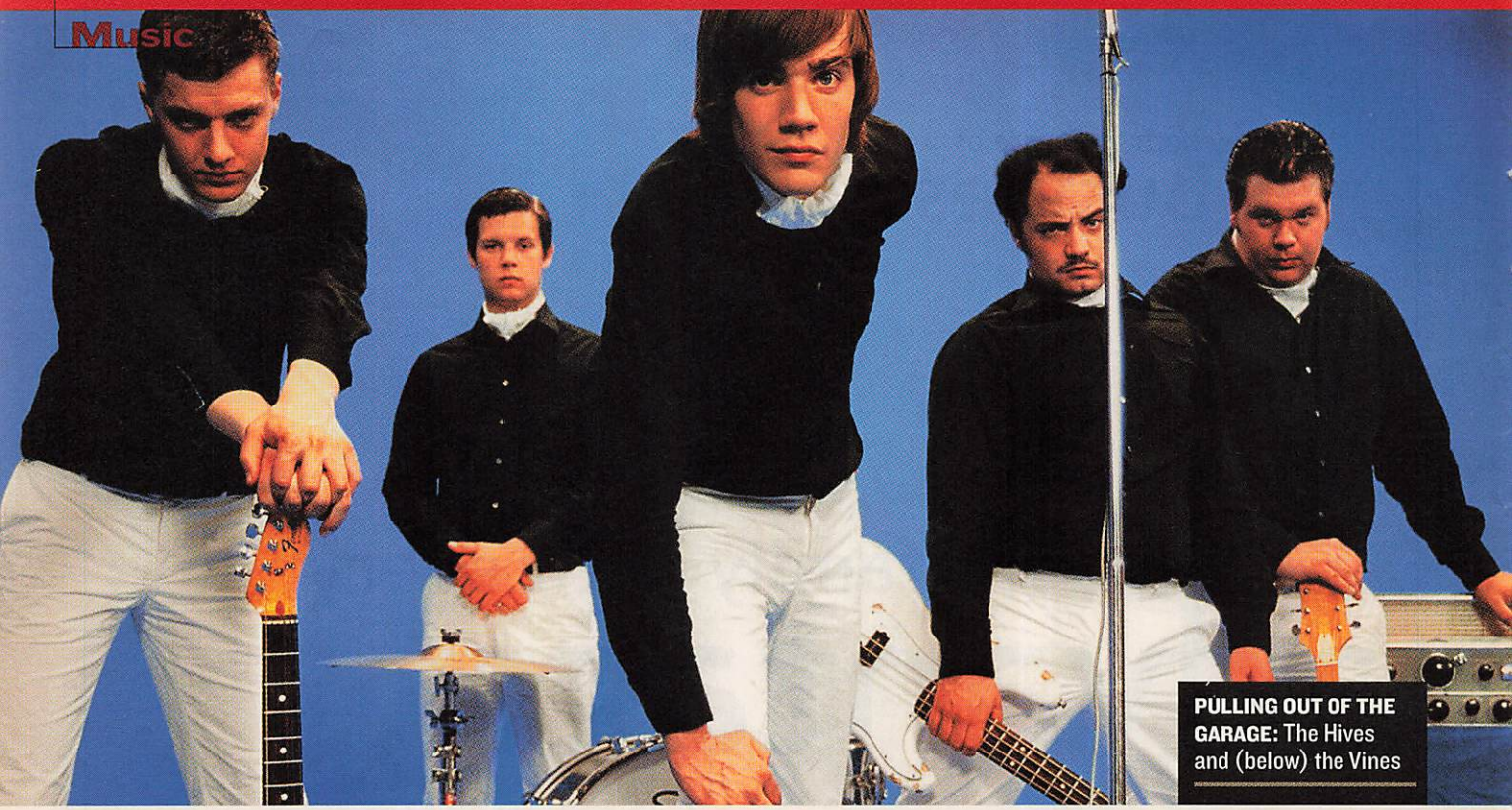

PULLING OUT OF THE GARAGE: The Hives and (below) the Vines

The Skittish Are Coming

Cool, loud, jittery garage bands like the Hives, the Vines and the Strokes are getting rock back on a roll

BY LORRAINE ALI

IF YOU'RE A ROCK FAN, YOU'VE LIKEly been depressed for the last decade, give or take a few years. These days rock equals clumsy rap-metal by brooding bands like Limp Bizkit or schlocky ballads by fifth-wave Pearl Jam ripoffs like Creed. And let's not even get into the proliferation of bubblegum pop. Yes, you've been through hell, but now there is hope. The reverberating buzz of garage rock—now making its way up from sweaty clubs to MTV—is threatening to make rock and roll cool and edgy again. The newest resuscitators are post-*everything;* they're scrappy groups with greasy locks and shredded T shirts or foppish mod hairdos and groovy matching suits. They pump out a raw, underproduced blend of pop and punk. And, unlike current chart-topping rockers who look like your average mall dude working at Cinnabon, they embrace the rock-star mystique. They've got pouty lips, sexy sneers—and waists smaller than their girlfriends'.

The New York City band the Strokes paved the way, selling more than 500,000 copies of their major-label debut "Is This It?" since October (likely the last time they showered). Their soulmates the White Stripes just played the MTV Movie Awards alongside Eminem. The Hives' single "Hate to Say I Told You So" is now on MTV, and the up-and-coming noise of the Vines has infiltrated KROQ's ever-influential playlist in the form of their single "Get Free." Smells like the first genuinely exciting rock revolution since Nirvana knocked hair metal off the charts. "I think a turning point was when I saw the White Stripes on David Letterman," says singer Craig Nicholls of the Vines. "It felt like a confirmation that things are changing." Now even the leaders of bygone revolutions are heading for the basement. Courtney Love was recently asked what her next record would sound like. "Garage rock," she said, "because that's where it's at."

TOM SHEEHAN

Of the half-dozen bands that are now breaking through, most were obviously influenced by the crackling vocals of the Buzzcocks, the raw power of the Stooges and the bisexual swagger of the young Mick Jagger. The Strokes play self-conscious New York punk. The Vines, who hail from Australia, bang out tinny, catchy, three-chord rock. The Hives, from Sweden, are the most kinetic and visceral of the pack: they kick out buzzing power-pop on the verge of self-destruction.

Scrappy bands like Mooney Suzuki and Black Rebel Motorcycle Club caused a stir underground the past two years. Now major labels—always the last to know—are moving in. The Strokes broke out of the local-club circuit by gaining attention in Europe, then signing to RCA last year. The Hives released "Veni Vidi Vicious" on Sire, and the Vines' U.S. debut, "Highly Evolved," is due in July from Capitol. If we're lucky, all this will turn out to be a genuine moment for rock, not just a fleeting trend. It's been too long since the last real revolution. The Strokes' Nikolai Fraiture remembers all the lame bands circa 1990—and that sinking feeling that rock would never spring back. "Then Nirvana came and blew people away," says the 24-year-old. "Now people need something more raw, more real. For us, it's just the right time." And rock fans couldn't have waited a second longer. ■

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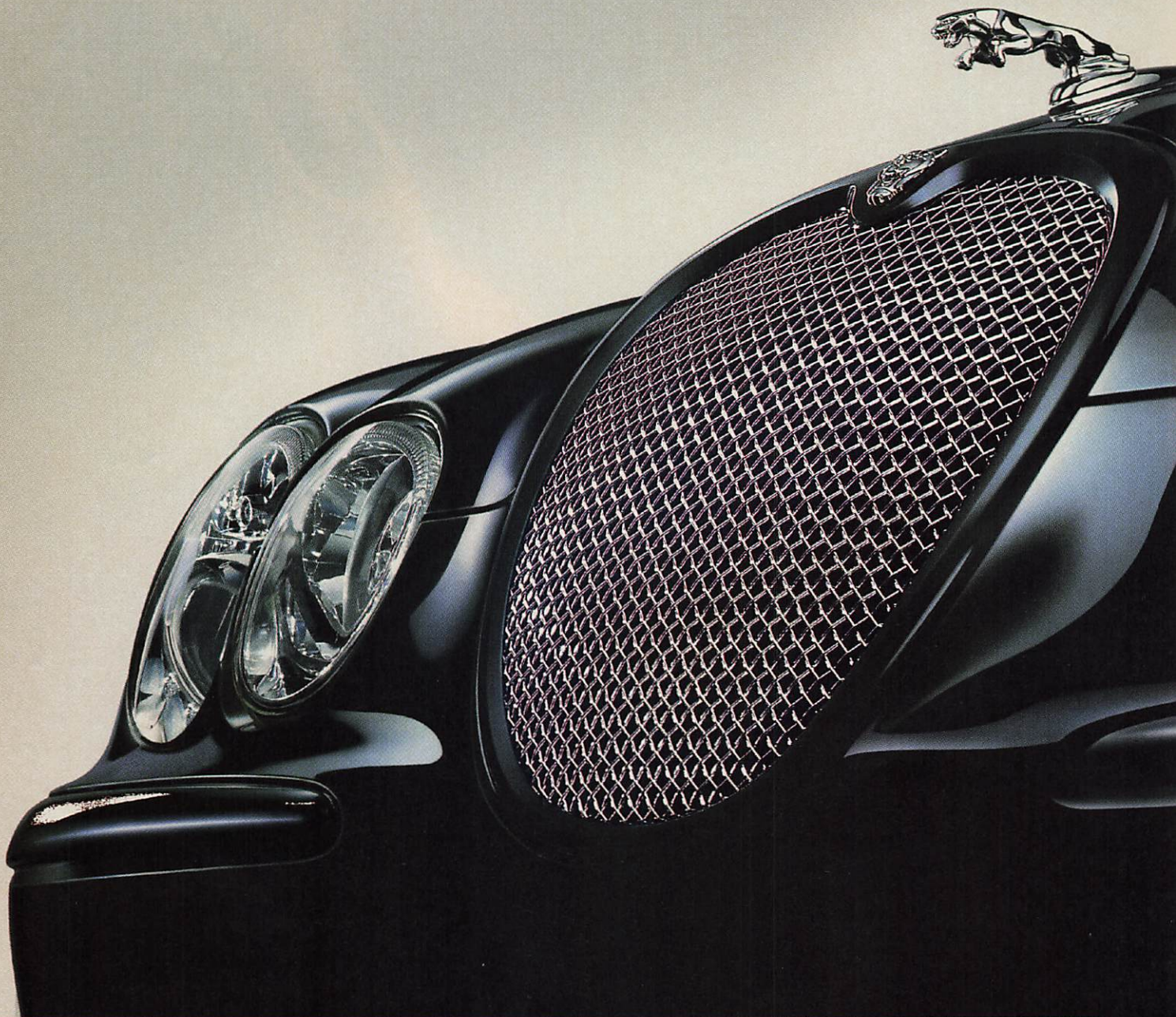

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Once an Addict ...

Jim Cramer planned to downshift his life. Yeah, right.

BY DANIEL MCGINN

AT THE HEIGHT OF THE BULL market in the late 1990s, money manager James Cramer would awaken at 2:45 a.m. By 3:30 he'd be on his way to Wall Street and the beginning of a 17-hour day on the trading desk at his hedge fund. As an investor, Cramer was a clear success: his fund returned 24 percent annually. But the personal toll of achieving that performance in a turbulent, 24-hour stock market was immense. When his daughter Emma was born, Cramer was on his mobile phone in the delivery room, talking about positions in Dow Chemical and Alcoa; his wife, Karen, a former trader herself, was furious. As he began juggling his trading with appearances on CNBC, his home life evaporated. "I'm proud of my performance, but I'm not proud of the person I became," he said last week, explaining his decision to quit running money in 2000 in the midst of his best year ever.

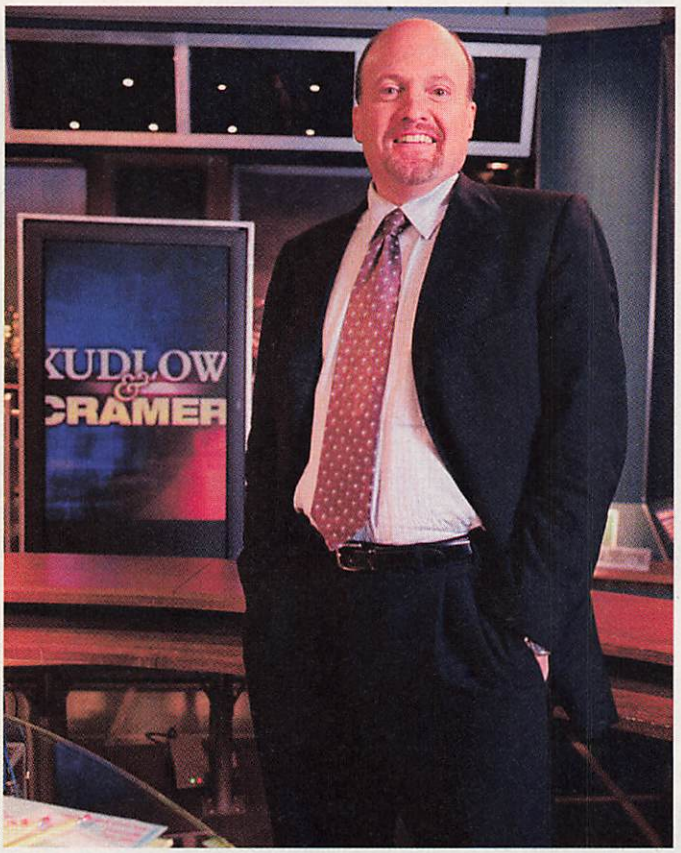
So how's retirement? Busy. On a typical day Cramer holds forth on a national radio show, writes columns on the Web and stars in another hour of cable-TV punditry after dinner. "I have an irrepressible desire to tell people when I think I'm right," he says. "I'm a restless guy. It fills the time nicely."

If you haven't caught his shtik on the air, you can now find it in bookstores. His new memoir, "Confessions of a Street Addict," recounts his rise on Wall Street and his descent into world-class workaholism. Investment memoirs are usually a bore; it's hard to sustain a narrative arc when the high drama involves buying AT&T at $12 a share. But Cramer's book works unusually well because it's ultimately an addiction memoir, one that just happens to take place on Wall Street. His tale is also enlivened by his extracurricular activities: when he wasn't trading, he was writing stock-tip columns for magazines and cofounding TheStreet.com, an investment Web site. Those pursuits kept him in continual trouble with regulators and in feuds with underlings and rivals. The feuds continue: in "Trading With the Enemy: Seduction and Betrayal on Jim Cramer's Wall Street," one of Cramer's ex-employees charges him with profiting from his relationships with CNBC reporters (Cramer denies it). Some bookstores are even bundling the two books together, with a tag saying, IF YOU LIKE THIS ONE, YOU'LL LOVE THAT ONE. Cramer mocks that tactic: "If you like 'Mein Kampf,' you'll like 'The Diary of Anne Frank,' too."

Today Cramer jokes about his old work habits. But in truth, his recovery seems ongoing: he's still logging 10-hour days. Cheryl Gould, who oversees his new CNBC show, "Kudlow & Cramer," says he's obviously working hard at polishing his television skills. But she wants to limit his media coaching; rough edges are essential to his appeal, she says. "The audience loves that they're *so* not your blow-dried anchor team," she says of Cramer and his partner, Larry Kudlow. Ratings aren't much better than the Nasdaq, but next month Brian Williams's show migrates from MSNBC to give it a new lead-in. "We're like a political candidate with low name recognition," says cohost Kudlow. "But among those that know us, we have a very high favorable rating."

On the air and off, Cramer still sounds like a bit of a wild-man. His voice oscillates wildly from baritone to soprano, and there's a slightly maniacal quality to his cackling laugh. But when he laughs today, it's often at his unbalanced behavior circa 1999. Five years of therapy helped, he says, but it never cured his performance anxiety over Wall Street's daily report card. "Part of the problem I had was the frequency with which I was being graded," he says. Today he claims he limits himself to checking his TV ratings no more than once a month; he's contractually forbidden from day-trading, and he holds most investments a full year. Instead of obsessing about the market, after taping his show he coaches his girls' soccer team. "If I have a bad day now, it's because of traffic," he says, letting loose one of those cackles. "I never had traffic before because I was going to work at 3:30 a.m." And like any recovering addict, he avoids old haunts; the two times he's visited his old trading floor since retiring, the sights and sounds reminded him that "I was really good at that business, and I know I could go back and be really good ... But if I ever want to go back to trading," he says, "all I have to do is open the book and say, 'There's no way'." And if that doesn't convince him to stay away from the trading desk, there's a powerful force that probably can: Mrs. Cramer.

With BENITA NEWTON



PHOTOGRAPH BY ERIN O'BRIEN FOR NEWSWEEK

TRADING PLACES: Cramer is now swapping more quips than stock tips

> **"I have an irrepressible desire to tell people when I think I'm right. I'm a restless guy. It fills the time nicely."**
>
> **—JIM CRAMER**

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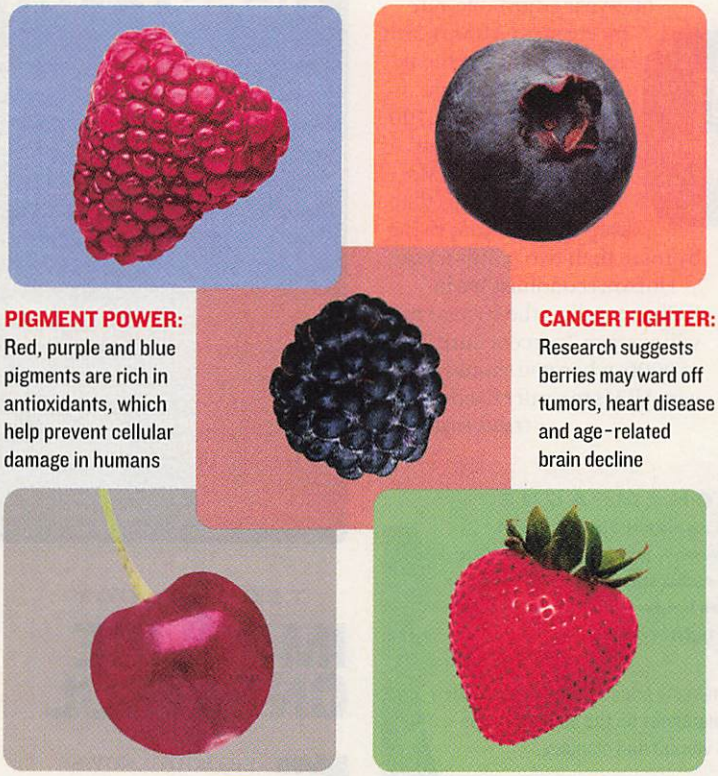
HEALTH

SO BERRY GOOD FOR YOU

BY ANNE UNDERWOOD

ONCE UPON A TIME, black raspberries just had no profile. Sure, this utilitarian fruit made tasty jams, jellies and ice cream. But ask a consumer what the berry actually was—hint: it's not a blackberry, but a smaller purple raspberry—and you got blank stares. "We used to sell the bulk of them to processors to make purple dye—the same dye used to stamp meat USDA APPROVED," says Don Sturm, owner of Sturm's Berry Farm outside Portland, Ore. "We almost never sold them to consumers." That changed two months ago, when biologist Gary Stoner of Ohio State University published a study showing a 60 to 80 percent reduction in colon tumors in rats fed high levels of black raspberries. Now, as the height of berry season approaches, Sturm can barely keep up with the demand on his Web site.

Human trials have yet to be conducted with black raspberries. But 50 years of scientific research have demonstrated that the healthiest diets are rich in fruits and vegetables. And various kinds of berries—while no substitute for broccoli—definitely contribute. New studies suggest they may help prevent everything from cancer and heart disease to age-related brain decline. "In the past we would've said the main reason to eat berries was vitamin C," says Ronald Wrolstad, professor of food science at Oregon State University. "Then we learned about potassium, fiber and folate. Today we're learning that berries are also rich in antioxidants."



PIGMENT POWER: Red, purple and blue pigments are rich in antioxidants, which help prevent cellular damage in humans

CANCER FIGHTER: Research suggests berries may ward off tumors, heart disease and age-related brain decline

Think of them as antioxidant pills—without the need for a visit to the pharmacy. Antioxidants help prevent cellular damage caused by compounds called free radicals. A few years ago Tufts scientists measured the antioxidant levels of 50 fresh fruits and vegetables, and found the top slots were occupied by berries. Much of that antioxidant strength comes from the anthocyanin pigments that tint berries red, purple and blue. The darker the berry, the stronger the protective pigments. In April, physiologist David Bell of the Indiana University School of Medicine reported that extracts of a dark berry called the chokeberry completely shielded coronary arteries in test-tube studies against free radicals that are a prime culprit in heart disease.

And when it comes to brain protection, there's nothing quite like blueberries, according to Tufts neuroscientist James Joseph, coauthor of "The Color Code," a new book about the virtues of eating colorful foods. (This reporter was another coauthor.) In one set of tests, Joseph put rats into chambers containing 100 percent oxygen to mimic the oxidative damage accompanying brain aging. Unprotected rats seemed to age overnight, but blueberry-fed rats had no damage at all. In his best-known set of experiments, aging blueberry-fed rats showed actual improvements on cognitive and motor-skills tests. "I call the blueberry the brain berry," says Joseph, who attibutes the effects to its antioxidant and anti-inflammatory compounds.

Berries also show promise in helping to ward off cancer. Microbiologist Lyndon Larcom at Clemson University has just completed a series of test-tube studies indicating that both strawberries and raspberries can block carcinogens of two classes—some that are directly toxic, others that are activated

TRAVEL | CAMERA COACHING

OK, so your friends will never find your travel pictures as interesting as you do. But take some attractive, artful shots, and at least they won't run screaming from your living room. A few picture pointers:

STEP UP	ANGLE IT	LIGHTING	FILM FACTS	TOSS 'EM
Novice shutterbugs stand too far away. Get in as close as you can—then get a bit closer.	Most travel pics are taken head-on. Shoot from below or above to vary it up.	Have your subjects stand facing the sun—unless they look better as faceless silhouettes.	You can't go wrong with 200- or 400-speed film; just don't scrimp on quality processing.	Don't bore friends with every shot. Just save the best ones.

Adapted from **Arthur Frommer's Budget Travel**

TOP TO BOTTOM, LEFT TO RIGHT: C SQUARED STUDIOS—PHOTODISC—GETTY IMAGES (2), L. WEST—PHOTO RESEARCHERS, DAVIES + STARR—STONE—GETTY IMAGES (2), ILLUSTRATIONS BY DAVID BAMUNDO FOR NEWSWEEK

TipSheet

by the body's own metabolic processes.

How many berries do we need to eat? No one really knows. But this spring the National Cancer Institute launched a campaign called Savor the Spectrum, urging Americans to eat fruits and vegetables from each color group every day—orange, red, green and blue-purple. Berries are among the rare blue and purple foods. With the USDA Food Guide Pyramid recommending five to nine servings of produce daily, says Stoner, "let one of your daily helpings of fruit be berries of some sort." It seems they're berry, berry good.

MONEY

ARM RACE

HOME BUYERS ARE rushing to lock in 30-year fixed mortgages at rates below 7 percent, a near-record low. But don't rule out one-year adjustable-rate mortgages (ARMs) with rates around 5 percent. On a $150,000 loan, you'd save some $2,700 in interest in the first year. One-year ARMs typically have caps that keep the rate from rising by more than two points a year.

Hofstra economist Irwin Kellner predicts the 30-year rate will average 7 percent until 2005 or 2006, when you should convert ARMs to a safer fixed rate.

-TEMMA EHRENFELD

UNCORKED | CHAMPAGNE

Nothing makes a celebration feel as elegant as a flute of champagne. Whether you fete the new graduate with a true French champagne or a fine American sparkler, look for pear, citrus and toast flavors. The wines below would be great as aperitifs or with finger foods and lighter dishes.

Score/price

90 $38	**Moët & Chandon Brut Champagne Impérial** One of the best-known and most reliable champagnes on the market, by the makers of Dom Pérignon. It's vibrant and complex.
90 $39	**Deutz Brut Champagne Classic** Hazelnut and honey flavors give this bubbly added depth, making it a good choice for dinner, as well as an elegant aperitif.
89 $20	**Roederer Estate Brut Anderson Valley** Consistently one of California's best. Made by a French producer, it offers champagne flavors at sparkling-wine prices.
88 $15	**Domaine Chandon Blanc de Noirs Carneros 398** Rich flavors, like most blanc de noirs (white from red grapes). This one has hints of black cherry and fig.
86 $11	**Domaine Ste. Michelle Brut Columbia Valley Cuvée** From Washington state, it's soft and creamy. A reliable choice when the budget matters—great by the case.

Wine Spectator

Wine Spectator rates wines on the 100-point scale; all wines are blind-tasted. Prices are those suggested by producers or importers. For more information visit winespectator.com.

ROAD TEST | HONDA PILOT

READY FOR TAKEOFF

Rarely has the buzz about a car reached such a drone. Everywhere I drive in Honda's new midsize sport utility, the Pilot, people are curious. The news is good: the Pilot is destined to become the next "it" car of the 'burbs. In fact, this $27,360 model has even more to like than its sedate sibling, the $35,200 Acura MDX. For one thing, the Pilot is wider and can seat eight—one more than the MDX. And then there are all those nifty features, like grab handles with built-in reading lights above the back doors and a split third-row seat that folds so flat to the floor I didn't realize it was there at first. Honda also managed to engineer this big boy with the smooth ride of its sedans. Best of all, the Pilot combines the best of all SUV worlds: more cargo space than the comparably sized Ford Explorer and more attitude than those small "cute-utes."

Honda Pilot
Standard 240hp V-6 engine, four-wheel drive, third seat, side air bags and CD stereo
$27,360
www.honda.com

Tip: Don't look for bargains—dealers are charging at least $700 over sticker.

-KEITH NAUGHTON

To suggest a product, log on to Newsweek.MSNBC.com and click on Tip Sheet.

TECHNOLOGY

IM POLICE ON PATROL

EVERYBODY KNOWS instant messages are the best way to send friends in the office snarky comments about the boss. That's because while companies routinely monitor employees' e-mails, instant-messaging (or IM) sessions have been tough to track.

Not anymore. Ascentive, a software maker in Philadelphia, last December released BeAware, a $49.95 program that grabs and stores screen shots of IM sessions. This month San Diego-based Akonix launches Akonix L7, another program that tracks IMs. It costs about $45 per user per year or less. ING, the financial-services giant, is already using a beta version to save IM sessions with clients and to block non-business-related IM use altogether.

An estimated 5 million people IM at work. Only a handful are being monitored—so far. But as Ascentive CEO Adam Schran warns: "You can't assume that no one else can see it anymore."

-JENNIFER BARRETT

ASK NEWSWEEK Does ReplayTV's digital video recorder deliver? Which is better, TiVo or Replay?—CAROL HAGEN, NEW YORK, N.Y.

TiVo, the better known of the two, is cheaper; the entry-level ReplayTV 4504 costs $449 for 40 hours of recording, while the TiVo Series2 costs $399 for 60 hours (both charge an additional $250 service-activation fee). But for serious TV addicts, the ReplayTV offers more features, like ad skipping. It's also network-enabled, so if you have two ReplayTV units in your home, you can watch a show in your bedroom that was recorded on the system downstairs in your living room; you can even e-mail shows to fellow ReplayTV owners.—N'GAI CROAL

To submit a question go to Newsweek.MSNBC.com and click on Tip Sheet.

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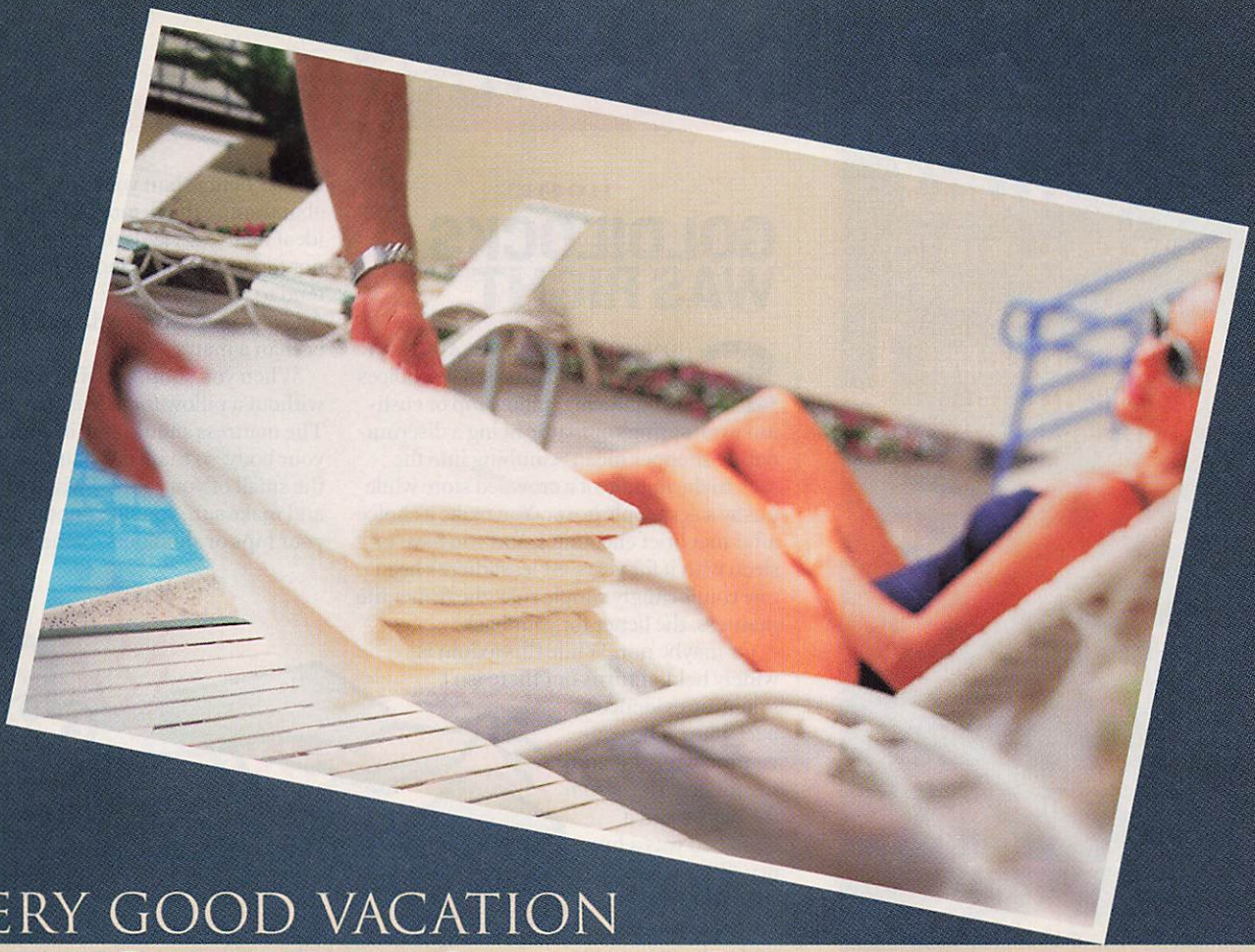

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TipSheet

HOME

GOLDILOCKS WAS RIGHT

SOONER OR LATER, WE ALL HAVE to buy a new mattress. The choices are confusing: pillow top or cushion firm, springs or foam? Being a discriminating shopper means climbing into the sack in the middle of a crowded store while pushy salespeople hover. You make a choice after that brief encounter, and you have to sleep with it for years. At least there's been one comfortingly simple rule: the firmer the mattress, the better for your back.

Or maybe not. While this axiom is widely held, it turns out there isn't scientific evidence to back it up. The conventional wisdom on firmness derives from the days when a good bed was a luxury. "Physicians used to advise people to put a board under the mattress to keep it from sagging," says Dr. Richard Deyo, a back-pain expert at the University of Washington. In fact, experts say the ideal bunk is not a hard one or a soft one—but a comfy one. It turns out Goldilocks was correct not to sleep in either the Papa Bear's or Mama Bear's bed.

So how can you improve your chances of finding that bliss? Americans typically buy a new bed every 10 years. But don't go by the numbers—listen to your body. Do you wake up stiff, sore or unrested? If you ache in the morning—not just after holding yourself upright all day—your bed may be at fault. An uncomfortable mattress can also keep you active during the night, leaving you weary during the day.

How can you ensure that your new mattress is better than your old one? Begin by abandoning the firmness doctrine. The ideal mattress yields to your contours. But not too much. Side and stomach sleepers tend to need more give than back sleepers. And a woman's hips will need to sink deeper than a man's.

When you shop, try lying on your back without a pillow for at least five minutes. The mattress should stay in contact with your body, so that your hand fits snugly into the small of your back. Switch to your side and make sure you don't notice pressure on your hips or shoulders. None of this is a guarantee. That's why you should buy with the option to return or exchange—sleep shops like 1-800-MATTRESS and Mattress Discounters (1-800-BUY-A-BED) allow exchanges within 30 or 60 days. Better yet, find a mattress you can adjust to the point of perfection. Flobeds (flobeds.com or 1-800-FLOBEDS) sells stackable latex panels that range from soft to superfirm. Stack two panels of different firmness for a truly customized sleep. And because each side of the mattress has separate panels, your partner can sleep on marble while you float on marshmallows. Sweet dreams. -T.E.

WASHINGTON WATCH | Before you fire up the grill this summer, here's one more reason to make sure those burgers are well done. A new report from two consumer groups finds flaws in the government's meat-testing program. Put in place after the *E. coli* bacteria scares of the 1990s, the program was designed to bring modern science to meat inspection. But is it making the grade?

★ **What's at stake:** In "Hamburger Hell: The Flip Side of USDA's Salmonella Testing Program," Public Citizen and the Government Accountability Project analyzed the Department of Agriculture's own testing records for salmonella bacteria at ground-beef-processing plants. The report found that 77 plants in 26 states failed at least one batch of tests. Though many large plants repeatedly flunked, they continued to ship USDA-approved beef to stores. USDA disputes the report's conclu-

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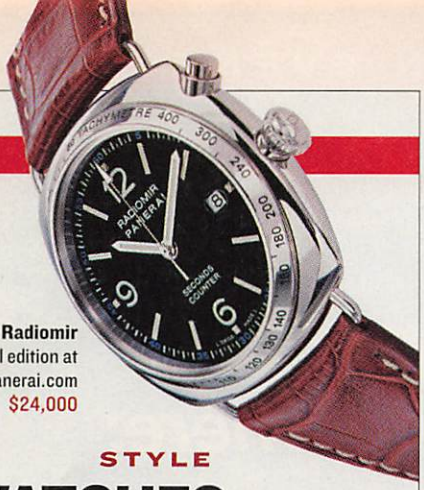

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STYLE

WATCHES SIZE MATTERS

WHOSE IS BIGGER? LET'S GET a ruler and settle this. Oversize watches—with faces measuring almost two inches in diameter—are a new symbol of masculinity. Panerai's pricey Luminor (a heavy-duty diving watch once reserved for an Italian Navy commando unit) won legions of famous fans, including *über*-males Sylvester Stallone, Arnold Schwarzenegger and Russell Crowe. "There's definitely an ego element to it," says a rep for watch retailer Tourneau. But you don't need movie-star bucks to overcompensate like one:

- **Fortis B-42** Face size: 42mm. Price: $1,700 to $5,200. To buy: 800-358-9212.
- **Glycine** Face size: 42mm to 53mm. Price: $500 to $2,900. To buy: glycine-watch.ch.
- **Emporio Armani** Face size: 44mm. Price: $195 to $225. To buy: emporioarmani watches.com.

-JENNY RUBINFELD

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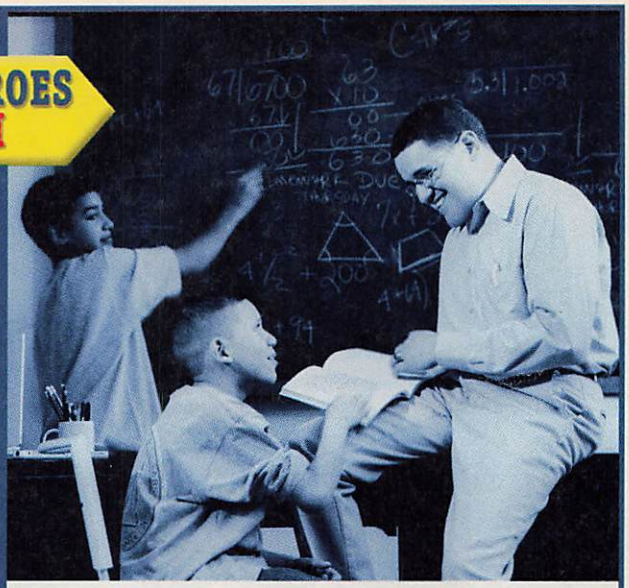
sions, saying salmonella rates have decreased and that it shuts unsafe plants.

★ **What's next:** Congress is weighing increased penalties. Consumer groups would like to see testing for a broader range of bacteria (including E. coli) and public disclosure of plants that flunk.

★ **What you can do:** Check out the full report, including the list of failing plants, at **citizen.org.** And remember to cook ground beef to 160 degrees F. -DEBRA KLEIN

VIVARIN HEROES
PROFILE XVI



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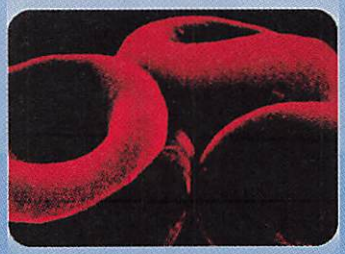

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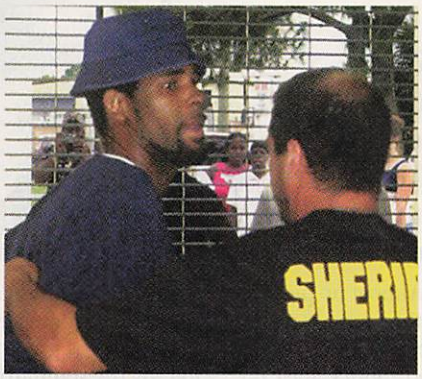
Newsmakers

8 The number of months Jennifer Lopez's marriage to Chris Judd lasted before reportedly ending last week

R. Kelly Believed He Could Fly. Can He?

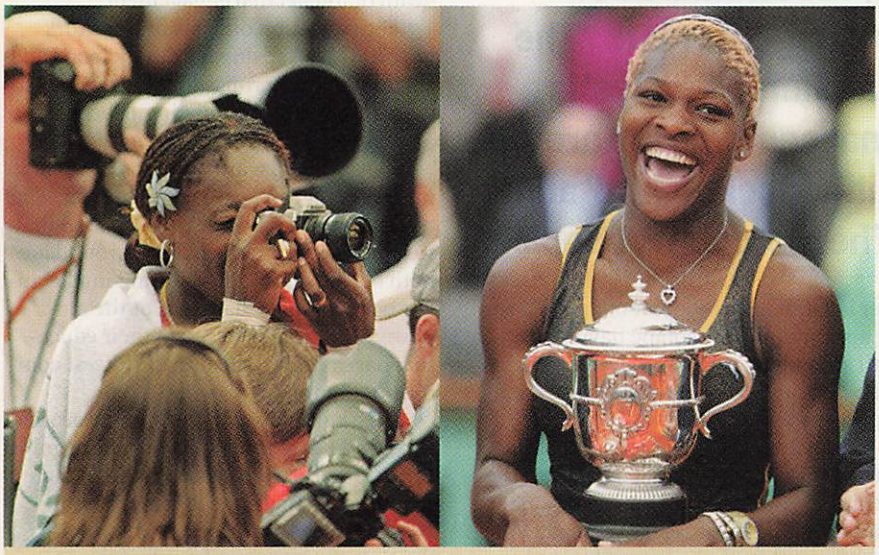
SEX ON FILM has long been the source of anxiety for celebrities—Pamela Anderson Lee, Rob Lowe, Tonya Harding—not smart enough to destroy the evidence. But singer R. Kelly is facing much more than a few sleepless nights. Kelly was arrested last week on 21 counts of child pornography in connection with a videotape that allegedly shows him having sex with and urinating on an underage girl. Kelly, who married singer Aaliyah when she was just 15, has repeatedly denied he's the man on the tape. That's now up to a court to decide. But sex tapes are made more often than you'd think. "A lot of famous guys and athletes tape sex acts with girls to make sure they're not brought on rape charges later," says a famous rap star. "When the girl is 14, it doesn't matter. I guess Kelly didn't know that."



TALE OF THE TAPE: Kelly arrested in Florida

Whether or not he's guilty, Kelly's career is already suffering. His recent album with rapper Jay-Z barely went gold since its March release. Many radio stations in Chicago, Kelly's hometown, won't play his music, and it's unclear if Kelly's label will release any new material. Sources say Kelly continued recording in recent months to get his mind off his legal woes. Though many doubt Kelly will do serious jail time, most in the industry say the crooner's career is toast. "That tape is the nail in the coffin," said one record executive. "These things have happened before, but there was no tape. There could be some doubt. With this there is none. It's over."

—ALLISON SAMUELS



SISTER ACT Before his daughters were even out of junior high, Richard Williams boasted that Venus and Serena would become the two best tennis players in the world. Last week they proved that father knew best. With Serena's surprise defeat of Venus in the French Open, the Williams sisters captured the two top spots. They are the first siblings, as well as the first African-Americans, to be ranked No. 1 and 2. Venus (snapping pics of her sister) is actually on top. Which only seems fair—she is the older sister.

WHOOPI GOLDBERG

WHOOPI GOLDBERG HAS AN Oscar, an Emmy, a Grammy and a Golden Globe. Now she's won a Tony—but not for her acting. Goldberg coproduced "Thoroughly Modern Millie," which won the best-musical award. She talked to NEWSWEEK's Marc Peyser about her new career, and some old ones.

Do Jewish people named Goldberg ever ask if you're related?

All the time. Sometimes they say, "Do you know ...?" And I go, "No." And they say, "I was *sure* you would."

"Thoroughly Modern Millie" has a lot of coproducers. Do you each get your own Tony?

I believe I get my own. If not, I'll take a Polaroid of it and put it in my house. I know it's a terrible thing to say, but I wouldn't have been bummed if we'd lost. For me, the fact that it got up onstage with my name in the playbill—anything else after that is gravy.

Your ex-beau Frank Langella also won a Tony. The gossips said you hated seeing each other.

That's just 'cause people have way too much time on their hands. We're still friends.

Why did you leave "Hollywood Squares"?

Hmm. It was the right thing to do under the circumstances. Is that PC enough?

But you made like $20 billion a hour, right?

It was good money, but it wasn't working anymore. Rather than take the money and lose the creativity, I thought it was time to go, and they thought it was time for me to go.

Anyone you'd like to see in the center square?

I am so not part of the show. I have no idea.

I want Bill Clinton. He's fast—and a great fibber.

Well, you know I'd like to a do a morning talk show with him.

Really?

"Bill and Whoop."

Speaking of odd careers, were you really a "mortuary cosmetologist"?

In San Diego, about a thousand years ago.

Was it just like "Six Feet Under"?

We did it differently then, but the relatives are always interesting. *She didn't look like that!*

You should be a guest corpse on "Six Feet."

No, child. It's too much of an invitation to fate.

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP RIGHT: JAMES DEVANEY—WIREIMAGE, MICHEL EULER—AP, JEAN LOUP GAUTEAU—AFP, MICHAEL WILSON-THE LEDGER—AP

With a No. 2 Pencil, Delete

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLES OMMANNEY FOR NEWSWEEK

YOU CAN IMAGINE HOW HONORED I WAS TO learn that my work was going to be mangled for the sake of standardized testing. I got the word just after a vigilant parent had discovered that statewide English tests in New York had included excerpts from literary writers edited so nonsensically that the work had essentially lost all meaning. Isaac Bashevis Singer, Annie Dillard, even Chekhov—the pool of those singled out for red-penciling by bureaucrats was a distinguished one, and I found myself a little disappointed that I had not been turned into reading-comp pabulum.

But the state of Georgia was more accommodating. The folks at the Educational Testing Service, one of America's most powerful monopolies, were preparing something called the Georgia End-of-Course Tests and wanted to use an excerpt from a book I'd written called "How Reading Changed My Life."

In the sentence that read "The Sumerians first used the written word to make laundry lists, to keep track of cows and slaves and household goods," the words "and slaves" had been deleted.

And in the sentence "And soon publishers had the means, and the will, to publish anything—cookbooks, broadsides, newspapers, novels, poetry, pornography, picture books for children," someone had drawn a black line through the word "pornography" and written EDIT!

I got off easy. In the Singer excerpt on New York's Regents exam, which was about growing up a Jew in prewar Poland, all references to Jews and Poles were excised. Dillard's essay about being the only white child in a library in the black section of town became almost unintelligible after all references to race were obliterated. The New York State Education Department's overheated guidelines are written so broadly that only the words "the" and "but" seem safe. "Does the material require the parent, teacher or examinee to support a position that is contrary to their religious beliefs or teaching?" the guidelines ask. "Does the material assume that the examinee has experience with a certain type of family structure?" As Jeanne Heifetz, an opponent of the required Regents exams who uncovered the editing, wrote, "Almost no piece of writing emerges from this process unscathed." Nor could any except the most homogenized piece of pap about Cape Cod tide pools.

"The words 'slave' and 'pornography' deal with controversial issues that could cause an emotional reaction in some students that could distract them from the test and affect their performance," wrotethe ETS supernumerary snipping at my sentences.

This was in a week when students likely heard of another suicide bomber in Israel, the gunpoint abduction of a teenager in Utah and the arrest of an R&B star for appearing on videotape having sex with an underage girl. And they're going to be distracted by the words "slaves" and "pornography"?

By the standards of the Regents tests, 'The Catcher in the Rye' is unacceptable. So are 'To Kill a Mockingbird' and 'The Merchant of Venice.'

That's the saddest thing here: not the betrayal of writers by bureaucrats, but the betrayal of kids by educators. Everyone complains that teenagers don't read enough good stuff; the lists of banned books in school libraries are thick with quality, with Steinbeck and Margaret Atwood. Everyone complains that students are not intellectually engaged; controversial issues are excised from those staggeringly boring textbooks. Everyone complains that kids are not excited about school; the point of school increasingly seems to be incessant testing that doesn't even have the grace to be mildly interesting. By the standards of the Regents tests, "The Catcher in the Rye" is unacceptable. ("Does the material require a student to take a position that challenges parental authority?") So are "To Kill a Mockingbird" and "The Merchant of Venice."

Here is the most shocking question among the New York state guidelines: "Does the material assume values not shared by all test takers?" There is no book worth reading, no poem worth writing, no essay worth analyzing, that assumes the same values for all. That sentence is the death of intellectual engagement.

The education officials in New York have now backed down from their cut-and-paste-without-permission position, faced with an angry mob of distinguished writers. But what do the kids learn from this? That the written word doesn't really matter much, that it can be weakened at will. That no one trusts a student to understand that variations in opinion and background are both objectively interesting and intellectually challenging. That some of the most powerful people involved in their education have reduced them to the lowest common denominator.

I like kids, have a brace of them around here, and I'm damned (EDIT!) if I'm going to abet some skewed adult vision of their febrile emotional state. Unlike those in New York, the people preparing tests for the state of Georgia at least had the common courtesy to ask permission to mess with my stuff. I declined. It's not that one or two words are particularly precious; I have hacked away at my own sentences to get them to fit tidily in this space. But not to make pabulum for students who deserve something tastier.

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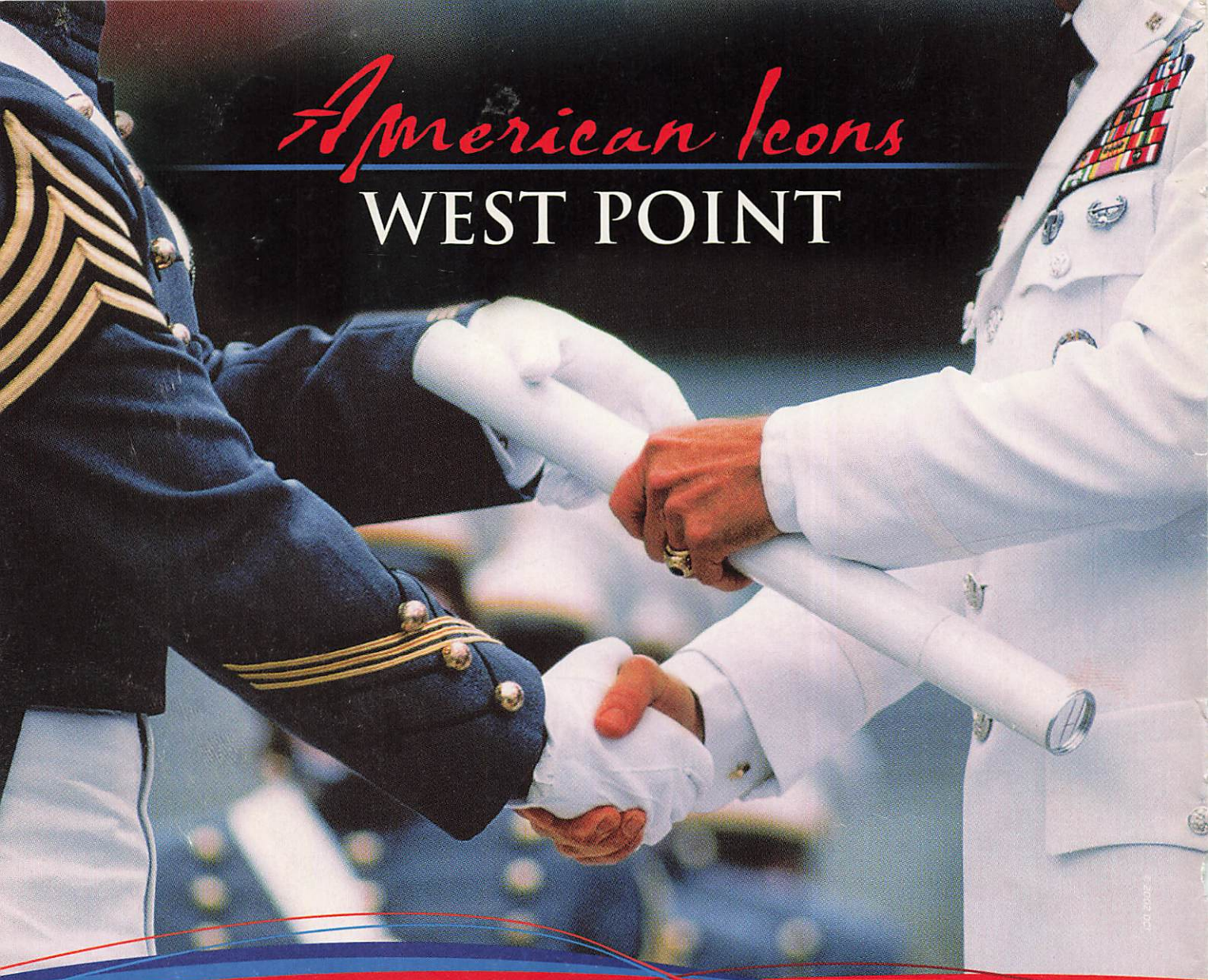

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